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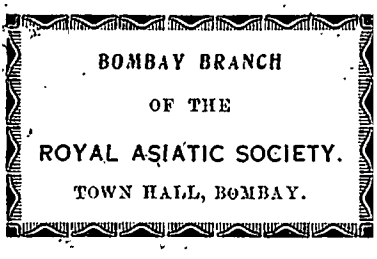

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE PEACE.

FROM 1800 TO 1815.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE PEACE.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

BEFORE the Nineteenth century opened, the inhabitants of Europe had entered upon a new period in the history of mankind; a period which must be a conspicuous one to students of History through all future ages.—During the greater part of the eighteenth century, the potentates of Europe, and the higher order of their subjects with whom they associated, had been satisfied that the height of political civilization had been reached, by such an adjustment of the Balance of Power as had never before been attained. The system appeared to be brought very near perfection. The solar system hardly seemed safer. The smaller states of Europe lived and moved among the larger as freely and securely as the lesser planets in their orbits, protected from absorption by the larger, by the balancing principle which kept all in their places. It is true, there was a failure here and there, such as one does not see in the systems of the sky. There was the partition of Poland, for one. The plea for the partition was, that Poland could not be sustained as a separate power, on account of her miserable distractions; and that she must have been absorbed by some one State, destroying the universal balance, if she had not been portioned out among several. There were complaints in certain quarters too about the reductions of Austrian power, and the aggrandizement of Prussia: but, upon the whole, it was evident to the world at large that Europe presented the most advanced political condition ever witnessed, in the spectacle of its Balance of Power. It was not merely that the physical forces of States were kept under a salutary

1800.

BALANCING SYSTEM.

1800. restraint. This would have been a good thing, if it had been the only one: but it was a gross kind of advantage, not above the aim of any age. It was a much higher good that international relations became more extended and refined: international morality was professed, and to a certain degree fostered: wild tempers and immediate objects were subdued and postponed to ulterior considerations: the weakest States became subjects of common protection, and the most out-lying countries of general observation: the way was opened for commercial connexions, and for mutual intercourses of every ameliorating kind: and the States of Europe really appeared as securely settled in an advanced political civilization as any nomade tribes who have entered upon the cultivation of land, and built themselves a town, and actually experienced that the blessings of social organization and impartial law are well worth the individual concessions by which they are purchased. As such a community might be roused in the night by a volcanic eruption which should overthrow their city and scorch up their fields, so were the powers of Europe struck aghast by the explosion

Overthrow. of the French Revolution. They had overlooked something; and their oversight cost them nothing short of the wreck of their system: just as the new settlers had omitted to look into the quality of the ground on which they were establishing themselves, and had no conception of the forces that might be acting under their feet. The something that the Monarchs and Statesmen of Europe left out of their calculations was that which will make the then incoming period conspicuous for ever in the history of the world, and which made the best wisdom of courts and cabinets a painstaking and conscientious foolishness. The something that was overlooked was, that it would no longer answer to regard States only as units: that the time had come for multitudinous Peoples to be considered too.

Russia. A new unit had been introduced into the association by those never-sleeping ushers, the centuries. Russia had desired to become a European power—a member of the confederation of European sovereigns. She need not have done so. She would have been very safe, for any length of time—invulnerable in her mantle of snows—unapproachable through her Lifeguards—the whole circle of storms. She might have wrought her despotic will for ever in the wide world of her own territories, if she had kept her face to the East. But it so happened that she turned westwards; and that first glance westwards may hereafter prove to have been the most tremendous event in human history. The transference of the seat of Russian empire from Moscow to the coast of the Baltic is a striking picture to us: but if it should be found hereafter that through Russia will have come that War of Opinion in Europe, by which Oriental Despotism is finally to measure its force against the Western principle of Self-government by Representation, the

minutest proceedings of Peter and Catherine in Russia will become as interesting as any incidents in the lives of Greek or Roman heroes. Generations yet unborn will watch with eager eyes the pulling down of Finnish huts in the marshes, to make way for palaces of stone; and the last waving of the bulrushes and reeds, where trim gardens were henceforth to be; and the first dimple in the surface of stagnant lakes, when the canals were ready to drain them away; and the placing of block upon block, as the granite embankments rose along the Neva, raising it from a waste of fetid waters into a metropolitan river. This river may turn out to be our modern Rubicon: and the stroke of Peter's hammer on the ship-side at Saardam may send a louder echo through future generations than to the ear of our own time. This great empire, seeking admission among the European states, at first alarmed them; and the audacious and aspiring cast of mind of Peter and Catherine justified such apprehension for the time. But it soon appeared that their efficiency beyond their own territory bore no proportion to their ambition, and that they were not likely to prove themselves potentates except within their own boundary. 1800.

The sovereigns of Russia would have said, and often did say, that they were considering their people during the whole of their reigns. It is true that they encouraged industry and commerce, and instituted prodigious works of improvement. But this was not the consideration of the Peoples of Europe which the progress of time was rendering necessary, and for want of which the whole system broke up. It was for the glory of the State and country, in consideration of the unit and not of the aggregate, that the great works of Peter and Catherine were done. They were done at the expense of justice and kindness to individuals. They were done with ignorant and fatal precipitation. They were done in an impatient and boastful spirit: and the people felt no gratitude where they were aware of no benefit. In as far as they shared the vanity of their sovereign, they boasted and exulted in the sovereign's glory: but there was nothing done or doing for the Russian people which could render them of any use in the day of European convulsion.

The same may be said in regard to the great and venerable empire of Austria. There was nothing on which the Emperor Joseph prided himself so much as on his reforms. Yet, they were so done—with so much self-will and personal regards—that they exasperated those whom he professed to benefit. One of his reforms lost him the Belgian provinces of the empire; and another alienated the affections of Hungary. Thus, while Austria in her reduced state was looked upon as an unexceptionable unit in the Balancing System, there was nothing in the condition of her people which could for a moment retard, or in any degree modify, the explosion which overthrew the arrangement. AUSTRIA.

Austria has been mentioned as in a reduced condition. She was

1800. reduced, not only by actual loss of dependencies, but, yet more, in regard to continental influence. There could have been no balance in Europe if Austria had retained, with all her vast territories, an undisputed supremacy of influence. Prussia was aggrandized, up to the point of rivalship. The partition of Poland, in 1772, seems to have been acquiesced in more easily than it might have been, by other powers, on account of the strength it gave to Prussia.

Prussia. Prussia had indeed become a notable unit in the European system: but we have the Great Frederick's own report of the state of his country and people a dozen years before the outbreak of the French Revolution. "The nobility was exhausted," he says, in the History he wrote of his own time, "the Commons ruined, numbers of villages were burnt, and towns impoverished. Civil order was lost in a total anarchy: in a word, the desolation was universal." He lent money to the towns, settled destitute people in the wastes, drained marshes, patronised manufactures, and, best of all, emancipated the peasants from hereditary servitude. Yet, his people were not happy; nor did they love him. His military system was so severe that his soldiers hanged themselves in their misery; and the whole country groaned under the burden of a standing army of 200,000 men. The appearance of activity and an improved financial condition throughout the north of Germany deceived observers who regarded States only as units: but it is now well known that under all the arrangements, and amidst all the enterprises of Frederick of Prussia there was no genuine civil liberty—nothing that could keep the weight of the people on the same side of the balance with the kings.

As for the two leading States of Europe, France and England, their destiny in the moment of convulsion had been fixed long before—as all destiny is—and with more clearness than is common

England. in political affairs. The English revolution of a century before had secured a better condition for the British nation, in regard to civil liberty, than was enjoyed by any other people in Europe; and the transient oppressions exercised or attempted by panic-stricken or one-sided statesmen under the alarm of convulsion were of small account in comparison with the securities for constitutional freedom in the long run. No discontent of the British people certainly contributed to the European explosion which destroyed the Balance of Power. The insular position of England rendered her circumstances so far different from those of other States as that she could never be suspected of aims of continental conquest. The imputations cast on her by her great rival were of arrogance in overbearing other people's will and affairs; insatiable rapacity about annexing islands and distant coasts to her dominions; and a shopkeeping ambition to monopolize the commerce, and command the industry, of the world. This was another way of saying that her function was to be mistress of the seas; as her great rival was, beyond question,

the most formidable warlike power on the continental battle-field of ambition. As for France, she was, before the breaking out of the Revolution, very strong; and she was spoken of as stronger than she was. Her population was above 25,000,000: but it was unhappy. Her authority and dominion over her neighbours were very imposing: but there was discontent beneath: and, when the conquests of the Revolution were made, and France claimed to be the ruling power from the Texel to the Adriatic, she was in fact weakened by her new conquests, which were no more really French than they had been before. Her great standing armies, by which she had been distinguished since Louis XIV. augmented them to a prodigious extent, were a cause of weakness in one direction while they were an element of vast strength in another. The institution of standing armies was a feature of an advanced social condition at the outset. It showed that the time had come for that division of industry under which the large majority of the inhabitants of a country pursued the business of their lives, contributing from the fruits of their labour to maintain a set of men to do the necessary fighting. The excitement and the horror of war were incalculably lessened by this arrangement, and the interests of peace were, in the first instance, remarkably promoted, by the tranquillity in which the greater part of the population and their employments were left. But then, this institution of standing armies became so oppressive as to be a main cause of revolutionary action in France and other countries. When Louis XIV. increased his forces, so as to exhibit to Europe the new spectacle of a standing army, at all times adequate to all contingencies, his neighbours began to muster armies which might keep his in check; and thus the practice of expanding the military element went on through Europe, till Prussia, under the Great Frederick, had a peace-establishment of 200,000 men, and France, under the last Bourbons, of 500,000 men. The resident inhabitants felt this force to be at once a severe burden in point of cost, and an irksome restraint: and they revolted against this, among other grievances. Thus, the machinery which was considered a means and proof of strength, and which was said to be provided for the maintenance of the Balancing System—for the repression of overgrown power in one direction, and the support of oppressed weakness in another—proved so heavy as to become in itself destructive of that which it assumed to preserve. While France was confident at home, and dreaded abroad, on account of her military preponderance, she was on the point of being put to her last shifts to preserve her place in Europe at all.

1800.

FRANCE.

STANDING ARMIES.

It may be noted, in contemplating the position of the two great rival States, that England was more likely to find favour in the eyes of other continental powers than France, since her kind of supremacy involved little danger to her neighbours. France, with

1800. her vast military resources, was a dangerous neighbour. The naval power of England might vex and harass the States, and cripple their commercial resources; but it could not keep them always in peril of their lives. In the midst, therefore, of a general dislike of her "arrogance," England was more trusted and less feared than France, among the company of European States.

Minor European Powers.

As for the smaller powers—Holland was gained over from the French to the English alliance, by the honest and skilful management of Lord Malmesbury, just before the breaking out of the French Revolution. It was of little consequence what Spain did. Spain was too essentially feeble to affect much the destinies of other States: but her natural and political tendencies were to alliance with France. Portugal was feeble too: and she and Spain were always prone to quarrel; and Portugal was our ally.—Turkey was rescued from absorption by Russia just before the death of Catherine; and it could hardly now be called a power at all.—Italy, also, was soon proved to be at the disposal of the greater potentates, having small inherent force.—Sweden and Norway were not likely to give any trouble spontaneously; nor did they seem in the way to require any especial protection.

The Balancing System was not founded on treaties, or any sort of express compact. It was a product of Time—a necessary stage of civilization, as we have said: and the natural force by which States united to keep the strongest in check, and uphold the weakest, appears indeed to have manifested itself, in its own season, as the counteracting and compensating forces of nature do, whether men call for them or not. In such cases, there is usually something involved which men overlook; and in this case of the Balancing System, there were elements of which kings and statesmen were wholly unaware. They were counting and placing their units, supposing all safe: not seeing that these units were aggregates, with a self-moving power.

Kings were no longer what they had been. They must have Ministers who were not their own tools, but who bore some relation to the people at large. In England, this had so long been a settled matter that nobody thought of questioning it. In France, the Bourbons never could clearly see it. They never saw that if it once became a matter of contest whether a European monarch and his tools should rule with or without a regard to the interests and needs of the people, the matter could end no otherwise than in the

French Revolution.

defeat of the despot. So the Bourbons were driven forth from France, as the Stuarts had been from England: and all the world waited with intense anxiety to see what would become of France in regard to the Balancing System.

Napoleon Bonaparte.

The matter was made clear, after some years of struggle, by a Corsican youth, who was an engineer, without prospect and without fortune, when the French revolution broke out. By his military

talents, and his genius for command, he had risen, before the opening of our century, to such a point of eminence, that on his life seemed to hang the destinies of the world. In 1796 he crossed the Alps, leading the armies of France to the conquest of Italy, whence he compelled the Pope and the other Italian sovereigns to send the treasures of art to Paris. He there defeated five Austrian armies; and showed his quality at home by wresting from the French Directory, and concentrating in himself, the entire control of the army. In 1798, he conquered Egypt, threatened India, and, in 1799, overran Syria, where, however, he was repulsed at Acre by the British under Sir Sidney Smith, and driven back upon Egypt. Returning to Paris, he carried all before him; and the year closed on his appointment as First Consul for life. He was invested with supreme executive authority. The first mention of his name in the published journal of the great British diplomatist, Lord Malmesbury, occurs in November, 1796. "Well brought up at L'Ecole Militaire—clever, desperate Jacobin, even Terrorist—his wife, Madame Beauharnois, whose husband was beheaded—she now called *Notre Dame des Victoires*." On the 23rd of August, 1799, he told his army in Egypt by a short letter, "In consequence of news from Europe, I have determined immediately to return to France." "Early in October," says our matter-of-fact Annual Register, "Bonaparte landed suddenly at Fréjus, in Provence, like a spirit from another world." Before the last sun of the century had set, he was the greatest potentate of the world. The wearied and worn people of France rested on him as the power which was to give them repose: and the magnificent succession of his first acts seemed to justify their confidence. Social order was restored and maintained; the public exercise of religion was re-established; and, by treaty with the Pope, France was released from the control of the Holy See in spiritual matters. Parties were repressed, and their leaders were made subservient to the new ruler. Office and influence were freely thrown open to merit; and the institution of the Legion of Honour invited civic desert from every rank and condition of life. The people were rid of the race of despotic and incapable Bourbon sovereigns; and in their joy at having secured a ruler who was capable, and who professed popular objects, they were not too careful to inquire whether he might not prove a despot in another way.

1800.

MADE FIRST CONSUL.

Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, iii. 293.

Annual Register, 1799, p. 316.

On the 25th of December, 1799, Napoleon addressed the following letter to the King of Great Britain. "Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the Republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your Majesty.—The war which, for eight years, has ravaged the four quarters of the world — must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful

PROPOSAL OF PEACE. Annual Register, 1800, p. 73.

1800. and strong beyond what their independence requires, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as the truest glory? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your Majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of making it happy.—Your Majesty will see in this overture only my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification by a step, speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, however necessary to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove, in the case of strong ones, only a mutual desire to deceive. France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still, to the injury of all nations, long retard the period of their own exhaustion: but I will venture to say that the fate of all civilized nations depends on the termination of a war which involves the whole world."

Such was the invitation to England to be at peace. But one of the conditions under which the European powers had entered into an alliance, and carried on war against France since the deposition of her princes, was that no one of them should make a separate peace. The answer from England was not, therefore, a matter of choice: and this Napoleon could not but have known. The greater his victories, and the more eminent his civic authority, the more necessary was it to the balance of power, and the security of the European nations, that all other countries should band themselves together against France, till unquestionable guarantees should be obtained that France would be quiet, and keep at home.

Declined. Annual Register, 1800. State Papers, 204.

The King of England, therefore, declined negotiation. In his reply, he said more than any statesman would now approve to enforce the restoration of the Bourbons: but he declared distinctly that this should not be made an essential condition, as no foreign power could claim to dictate to any nation its mode of government. The essential condition would be, (whenever the time should arrive,) that France should give such evidences of stability at home and harmlessness abroad as might justify her neighbours in laying down their arms. The sovereign of Great Britain had the highest right to use a lofty tone with the new ruler of France, as the naval power of England had proved the only counterpoise to the military pre-eminence of France. While Napoleon had become lord of the Continent, England remained mistress of the seas. By various successes in the earlier years of the war, by the victory off Cape St. Vincent in February, 1797, and especially by the battle of the Nile, France had been kept in check, and more had been done for the maintenance of the common cause against her than by the action of all other European powers together. The battle of the Nile, fought on the 1st of August, 1798, yielded the greatest victory then known in naval warfare. To destroy the

French fleet in the Mediterranean had long been the first wish of Nelson's heart. He did it now. Only a single frigate of the whole armament returned to France; and Napoleon was left in Egypt, shut out from all communication with home. It was while the remembrance of this great defeat, in the midst of so many successes, was fresh in his mind, that Napoleon addressed to George III. his invitation to peace: and it was while England was yet cheered with her victory, and making much of her great hero, that George III. sent his haughty reply. 1800.

The war, as has been said, had lasted eight years. In 1792, the French Assembly had declared war against Austria, on the ground of her harbouring French rebels, contrary to the faith of treaties. The poor king, Louis XVI., was then still living; and one of the bitter things he had to endure was appearing to sanction a declaration of war against the friends who were at work for his rescue. Prussia and the King of Sardinia presently joined Austria: but Great Britain preserved a position of neutrality for yet a few months longer. After the execution of Louis in January, 1793, no further terms were to be kept with France, and in February, England and Holland were her proclaimed enemies. The successes of Napoleon justified his coming forward to propose peace, as soon as the government of France appeared to be settled in his person: but his making the proposition to England alone shows that he could hardly have been sincere; for no one of the great powers could make a separate peace. Yet he declared to the legislative body, at the close of their session, in March 1800, that the French people desired peace, and their government also, and even more earnestly; but that the English government rejected it. A new army of reserve was immediately formed; and forth went the great soldier to conquer again. By the middle of June in this last year of the century, he had gained the battle of Marengo, taking from the Austrians in one day all that they had regained in Italy since his former warfare there. His forces under Moreau in Germany were driving back the Austrians at every point: and by the middle of July, the Emperor was helpless—many of his strongholds in the hands of the French, and the road to Vienna open to them. He would have made peace, but could not do it without the consent of the other powers; and Great Britain objected to some of the terms imposed by France. Before the end of the year, however, the successes of Moreau in Germany, and of the French wherever they appeared, were such as to precipitate peace-making wherever it could be had. On Christmas Day, 1800, the Emperor signed an armistice, by which he bound himself to agree to a separate peace, his allies giving their compassionate consent. It was clear that other powers must follow the same course; and on the last day of the century, it was understood by British statesmen that England would presently be the only power standing out

NAPOLEON'S SUCCESSES.

ENFORCED PEACE ABROAD.

1800. against this terrific France and her astonishing ruler. It is now that we begin to find in the records of the time, and in the correspondence of our fathers, those scattered assertions that such a man could not be longlived, which show how vast was his power over the imagination in the early years of his conquests. Our fathers were taken by surprise by the manifestation of the resources of France. By changing the natural course of her life, and calling forth all her strength of every kind for the maintenance of her new position against the assaults of the world; her ruler had made her appear able to confront the united opposition of the world—and even to drive back the world, and occupy the homes of nations wherever she pleased—except only in regard to England. France was now about to gain territory as far as the left bank of the Rhine from Austria; and Parma, Tuscany and Etruria from Spain; and alliance against the English from poor helpless Naples; and peace on his own terms with Russia, Bavaria, and Portugal. While seeing the new century rise on this wonderful adventurer, now the foremost man of all the world, men discerned no hope but in the probable shortness of his life. Such energy as his, they said, always wore out the frame: he exposed himself in so many battle fields, that he would be taken off that way: he had also been nearly murdered, in the last month of the century, by a conspiracy in Paris: and between the discontented and the mad, he would never be safe. And then, such a man leaves no successor. He was himself the greatness and the power of France; for he had tranquillized her. She would easily be conquered when his day was over. Such were the consolations of the more hopeful. As for the timid, they had no hope, beyond that of keeping quiet in their own island, letting destruction rage abroad. When, presently, it appeared doubtful whether they would be allowed to remain quiet in their own island, the consternation was such as Englishmen and their families had little dreamed of ever experiencing in so late an age of the world. In their school days they had imagined what it must be to the people to see the approach of the Danes, or of the Normans, and to have their beloved country overrun by the foe: but it had never occurred to them that such a thing could happen to themselves. When, however, this Bonaparte had reduced to peace on his own terms all his foes abroad, it was thought and whispered that he would turn his face our way, and try the power of his presence in England, as in the countries which he had laid low. He had used his influence abroad to injure Great Britain by embroiling her with the northern powers, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. He wrought upon the Emperor Paul's ambition to possess Malta, and on the jealousy and fears of the three Powers about the commercial and naval supremacy of England, till he succeeded in making a rupture, most alarming to the government and people of Great Britain at such a juncture. During the last

months of the century, the three great Baltic Powers were bound in a confederacy against England: the Danes were evading naval search, and supplying arms and stores to French vessels: Paul was burning British vessels in Russian ports, and sending the crews into the interior as prisoners; and it was clear that a northern war was impending at the same moment that England was left alone in her resistance to France. We shall have to see what was thought and said and done by the brave and by the timid, by the wise and by the incapable, in this extraordinary exigence. Meantime, we must glance at the operation of these exterior relations on the interior condition of Great Britain, at the close of the century. 1800.

CONDITION OF ENGLAND.

Amidst the convulsions which broke up the Balancing System on the Continent, the British nation seemed exempted from dangers common to all other peoples—secured by its free constitution. It was an edifying sight, just before the French Revolution, to see the Prime Minister of England, Mr. Pitt, bringing forward the subject of parliamentary reform—proposing to transfer the franchise from decayed boroughs to London, and to counties which had become populous; and to provide for the future disfranchisement of boroughs, as they should sink in the scale of proportion, to growing manufacturing towns. Thus liberal and popular were the ideas of the great statesman up to 1785. But he took alarm at the French Revolution; and, like other directors of public affairs in Europe, looked upon states as units, and turned away from the interests of the aggregate peoples. He became one of the despots of Europe—in point of despotism, one of the foremost. He might have been justified for entering into the continental war, diverse as were the opinions of the time as to the necessity of doing so. He might have been forgiven the bad conduct of the war, by which England was drained of money that went to subsidize the weaker continental powers. Terrible as were the burdens of taxation and the derangements of commercial affairs at the time, and fearful as is the load of debt which he deposited in the future by a method of warfare which brought no glory and did no effectual service, he might have been forgiven; for the times were such as well nigh to set men's judgments at defiance. But that for which he cannot be forgiven is his overruling of the civil liberties of Englishmen. All who doubted the wisdom of the war were regarded by Mr. Pitt's government as seditious persons; and imputed sedition was hunted down with a ferocity to the last degree unwise in such times. Clergymen and other educated men in Scotland were doomed to transportation for speeches and acts of political license, such as always grows under persecution; and attempts were made to bring others to the gibbet in England for constructive treason: attempts which, if not baffled by the sense and courage of the juries, would have been ground enough, in such a crisis, for such a revolution in England as would secure to men their constitutional rights.

WILLIAM PITT.

HIS POLICY.

SEDITION.

1800. There was a suspension of the Habeas Corpus, a stringent Alien Bill; and finally, in 1796, the Seditious Meetings' Bill, which was so oppressive and unconstitutional that Mr. Fox and the leaders of the Opposition seceded from the House of Commons when the Bill was committed. The fiercer the severity on the part of the government, the stronger grew the resentment of the people; and "the spread of revolutionary principles"—the thing dreaded—was stimulated by tyranny at home far more than it could ever have been by mere example from abroad; example which a little time was sure to convert into warning. In the midst of all this turmoil, the Bank found her resources exhausted. By 1797, the country was so drained of specie that the Bank could not go on, unless saved by some immediate intervention of government. So the Restriction Act was brought in, by which the Bank was relieved from the obligation to pay cash for notes. The government was actually alarmed for the provisioning of London, and for the means of paying the army and navy. In February and March, various anonymous letters from sailors had been received by the authorities, complaining of insufficient pay during years of high prices, and of other grievances: and in April, when the Channel fleet at Spithead was ordered to proceed to sea, ship after ship refused to weigh anchor; and in a few weeks mutiny seemed to have deprived Great Britain of her naval defence—her best reliance. From port to port the mutiny spread, and at the Nore it seemed for a time unmanageable. The ministry advised parliament to grant the demands of the sailors; and money was voted accordingly; only the ringleader and a few delegates of the mutineers being executed, to keep up some appearance of authority. In the next year happened the terrible Irish rebellion. Such was the condition of affairs in the hands of the minister who distrusted the people the more as his difficulties increased; and became the more severe with the growth of his difficulties and his distrust; while Napoleon was again abroad on his victorious course; and on the Continent all seemed lost.

Financial Difficulty.

Mutiny.

Irish Rebellion.

The time was now come for this continental adversity to tranquillize England. All other powers were prostrate: and the people, as well as the government of England, was now engrossed by apprehension. The pressure from without was becoming serious enough to still all within. By the opening of the century, the great minister and the people seem, by a sort of mutual consent, to have suspended hostilities in awe or hatred of the common foe. Mr. Pitt appears to have lost some of his constant dread of "the spread of revolutionary principles" in view of the stronger peril to the French themselves, as well as their neighbours, of the establishment of a military despotism: and the most liberal of English politicians were becoming almost as anxious for peace as the overtaxed and suffering people; seeing that nothing more was

now to be done on the Continent, and that it was not perfectly certain that our national existence would be preserved—or unsuspended (for no one supposed that Great Britain could remain permanently a province of France)—if we defied the conqueror to decisive war. 1800.

For obvious reasons, one point of the question could not be publicly discussed. There were many who seriously doubted whether we could support a war. Dark and dreary was the state of affairs: so dark and dreary that it was to be hoped Napoleon would not hear how bad it was. The King could not be depended on for any kind of assistance. He was purely an obstruction, except to a few who wheedled him, in order to use his name in furtherance of their own objects. He had been insane, and might at any moment be so again. It is difficult now, in reading his letters, and records of his conversation and behaviour, to say whether he was ever quite rational, even up to the level of his originally small capacity. He was harsh and cruel to his eldest son, while ludicrously sentimental with those of his ministers who gratified him most by that mixture of flattery and pious profession which suited his taste. He was obstinate and prejudiced, weak and ignorant, before his illness: and he was, naturally, neither wiser nor more flexible now. It was a misfortune to have to manage him: it would have been folly to look to him for any sort of aid.—The Prince of Wales offered no resource of hope. He was at variance with his parents, parted from his wife, deep in debt, querulous in his discontent; and thoroughly provoking in his methods of political opposition. THE ROYAL FAMILY.

As for the Administration, we have seen what must have been its unpopularity.—As for the people, we are able to form a pretty accurate notion of their numbers and condition, though, strange to say, there had as yet been no Census. The first Census was taken in 1801. As the first, it was not so well managed as it might have been; but it so far affords guidance as that we may venture to say that the population of England, Wales, and Scotland, including the soldiers and sailors serving abroad, was about eleven millions. The proportion of this population employed in agriculture, in comparison with that employed in manufacture and commerce, was much greater than it is now. Since 1795 there had been a series of deficient harvests; and that of 1800 was so bad that the price of wheat rose to 115*s.* 11*d.* per quarter. To the middle classes employed in manufacture and commerce this was a cruel aggravation of their hardships, while taxation was becoming inordinately oppressive. The misery was felt also by the poorest class, as was shown by the swelling of the poor rate to the then enormous sum of nearly four millions per annum, for the poor of England and Wales; a sum truly enormous, in the eye of all times, for the relief of pauperism in a population of 9,000,000, CLASSES OF THE PEOPLE.

1800. which was about that of England and Wales. But the landowners were in a highly flourishing condition. With wheat at 115*s.* 11*d.* per quarter, they had no great reason to care for the deficiency in the harvest, in this last season of the century, and they lived in a style which abundantly asserted their prosperity. While the tradesman or manufacturer came in from his daily business depressed and anxious, unable to extend his market, on account of the war or its consequences, pressed for poor rate, threatened with an increased property tax, worried by the Excise in his business, warned of bad debts in his trade, and with bakers' and butchers' bills growing more formidable from week to week, the farmer was cheerful, and his landlord growing grand. While the townsman was paying 1*s.* 10*d.* for the quartern loaf, and 2*s.* per lb. for butter, and the children were told they must eat their bread dry; and there was a dinner of shell fish or other substitute for meat once or twice a week, and housewives were trying to make bread with potatoes, to save flour—the farmers kept open house, set up gigs, sent their children to expensive schools, and upheld Mr. Pitt and the war, their king and country. The landlords obtained Enclosure bills in great and increasing numbers: and some of the more enlightened, looking beyond the present privilege of high prices which so swelled their rents, began to attend to suggestions for improving the soil. It was in 1800 that we meet with mention of the first trial of bone manure. The farmers laughed, and declared they would let well alone, and not spend their money and trouble on new devices which they did not need: but the philosophers were at work—such a man as Davy for one—and the best order of landowners were willing to learn; and thus provision was made for future agricultural improvement, and some preparation for that scientific practice of agriculture which was sure to be rendered necessary, sooner or later, by the increasing proportion of the more enlightened manufacturing to the less enlightened agricultural population of the country. It appears that at the opening of the century, 10,000 acres of raw, newly-enclosed arable and pasture land would support 4,327 persons; while, thirty-five years later, the same quantity of similar land would maintain 5,555: and the fifteen years that have elapsed since the later date have witnessed a far more rapid advance of improvement. It is a fact worth remembering that the first decided step in this direction, the first recorded application of bone dust as an introduction to the use of artificial manures, was made in the first year of our century, while the prices of agricultural produce were such as were then called "unheard of."

In 1790, Arkwright's inventions had been thrown open to the public, by the setting aside of his patents. At that time, our exports of manufactured cotton goods little exceeded a million and a half. In 1800, they reached nearly to five millions and a half.

Landowners

Tradesmen.

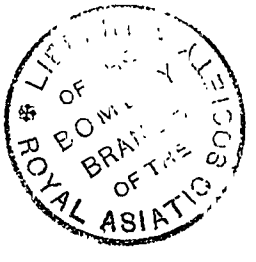
Farmers.

Progress of the Nation, i. 149 (*note*).

Agricultural Improvement.

Progress of the Nation, i. p. 178.

Cotton Manufacture.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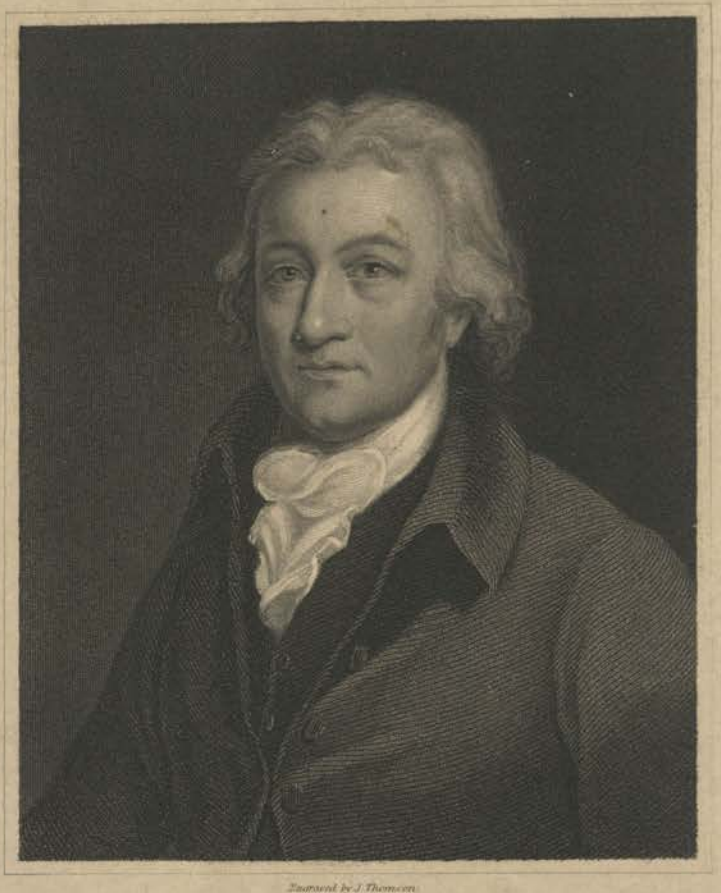

Engraved by J. Thomson

Dr CARTWRIGHT.

From a Picture in the possession of Mrs. Cartwright

London Published by Charles Knight, & Co. Ludgate Street.

1800.

This seems a small amount to us now; but the rate of increase during a season of war and trouble is remarkable. The time for flagging under the burdens and impediments of war was at hand, but was not yet foreseen by government. Dr. Cartwright's power-loom had been invented for thirteen years; but it was not brought into use till 1801. Even then, it was not for some years that the invention became easy to use, and duly profitable: so, in contemplating the cotton manufactures at this period, we must remember that though the spinning was very perfectly done, the handloom weavers had the weaving business all to themselves. We have no records which can make us certain of the number of persons employed in the cotton-manufacture at the opening of the century. What we do know is that the mechanical inventions in which Arkwright led the way have added a permanent two millions to our population: and that by the improvements of the last fifty years, less than half the number of hands can deal with the same amount of cotton as at the beginning of the century. The supposition has been offered that the number of cotton spinners in 1801 was about 27,000: but this is little more than conjecture; and then, we know nothing of the number of weavers. But of the condition of this part of our industrial population, we do know something. We learn, by information laid before a Parliamentary Committee in 1833, that at the beginning of the century, a cotton spinner worked 74 hours in a week; for which his clear earnings were 32*s*. 6*d*. We have seen what was then the price of bread. It is evident at a glance how inferior was the condition of an operative of that class then, in comparison with that of his successors, who work a shorter time, obtain higher wages, pay less for food, and have the advantage of this same cotton manufacture for cheap and cleanly clothing for themselves and their families.

Progress of the Nation, i. 229.

OPERATIVES.

Progress of the Nation, i. 230.

The money value of our woollen exports in 1800 was about 6,000,000*l*.; that is, doubled within a hundred years: but, as the price of wool had doubled also, it does not appear that the manufacture was on the increase. The population of Bradford, in those days, was under 30,000: of Huddersfield, under 15,000: of Leeds, 53,000. The city of Norwich, the chief seat of the bombazeen and camlet manufacture, was in a state of deep depression: and for the first ten years of the century, the population scarcely increased at all. Yet, the wear of woollen was much more general then than now, among the body of the people. Linen fabrics were expensive, and cotton not yet cheap.—The linen manufacture was on the increase; but not to any striking degree.—As for silk attire, there were few out of the highest classes who could afford more than an occasional indulgence in it. A silk gown lasted a dozen years; and its purchase was a serious event to a woman of the middle-class. A good deal of silk was smuggled into the country; and that which was manufactured at home was in

Progress of the Nation, i. 190.

WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE.

Progress of the Nation, i. 200, 201.

SILK.

1800. the hands of a small population who, while prizing their monopoly as their heart's blood, were yet for ever oscillating between high prosperity and the deepest distress. Birmingham and Sheffield were modest, middle-sized towns, when the century opened—Birmingham having under 74,000 inhabitants, and Sheffield less than 46,000. The more languid manufactures grew under the protraction of the war, the heavier became the taxation: so that it requires some consideration to conceive how either capitalists or operatives lived in such times.

Progress of the Nation, i. 293, 299. Hardware.

Condition of Middle Class.

There was less expenditure for amusement in those days. Travelling was seldom thought of by middle-class people, except for purposes of business. Middle-class families in the provincial towns and in the country lived on for five or ten years together, without a thought of stirring. The number of that class out of London who had ever seen London was very small. Few who lived in the inland counties had ever seen the sea. Mountains and Lakes were read and talked of almost as Rome and the Mediterranean. Little money was spent in travelling. Scarcely any was spent on books, music, or pictures. Children and young people had cheaper schooling, and less of it, and fewer masters than now. The business of living was done at home, more than now; especially the needlework, to the serious injury of female health. The routine of living, in orderly families, was so established that it did not vary 20*l.* in amount for a series of years. To householders of this order, it was a bitter and exasperating thing to see millions upon millions voted for carrying on the war; and hundreds of thousands lavished in rewards to military and naval officers; the tone of government, and of too large a proportion of parliament being as if money was inexhaustible. From these middle-classes, taxed in property and income, taxed in bread and salt, taxed in the house over their heads and in the shoes on their feet, compelled to take their children from school, and to lower the destination of their sons, proceeded those deputations, and petitions, and demands and outcries, in the closing days of the century, that the King would "dismiss his weak and wicked ministers." Such sufferers did not mince matters in those days, nor choose their terms with over civility: and certainly, the records of the time give a strong and painful impression that the government regarded the people with little other view than as a taxable and soldier-yielding mass, troublesome at best, but a nuisance when it in any way moved or spoke. To statesmen, the State, as a unit, was all in all; and it is really difficult to find any evidence that the people were thought of at all, except in the relation of obedience.

Of Industrial Classes.

As for the operative class, their condition was often such as to make the student pause, and ask if he can be reading of only fifty years ago. The artisan found that since he began life, the

expenses of living had become fivefold or more. Meat which had been 4*d.* per lb. when he married was now 9*d.* Butter was trebled in price, and sugar doubled, and malt quadrupled, and poor rate quintupled. The liability to military service was for ever impending. If he did not enrol himself as a volunteer, to the sacrifice of much time and money, he was liable to be drawn for the militia; and he must go soldiering, when required, or pay for a substitute. And the means for recruiting the regular army were put in force so variously and so stringently, that the wife and children lived in a perpetual dread that the mechanic or labourer would, some way or another, go for a soldier. The proportion was indeed very large. Besides the militia and volunteer forces, of which the militia alone consisted of 200,000 men at one time, the number of new soldiers raised in the first eight years of the war was 208,388. Of these, 49,000 had been killed, or had otherwise died of their service; and 76,000 had been sent home disabled. Out of the population of that time, this was a very serious proportion: and so plentiful a sprinkling of maimed and sickly returned soldiers, and of the widows and orphans of those who had never returned, was enough to destroy all sense of domestic security among the industrial classes. They were told, and truly, how blessed their condition was in comparison with that of the inhabitants of the countries actually laid waste by the war. They were reminded, and properly, of their duty to the state, and the obligation they were under to contribute to its support. All this was very true: but not the less did those who lived near the coast dread the press-gang, and villagers every where abhor the recruiting party. In merely opening the Annual Registers towards the close of the century, we light upon notices of riots on occasion of enrolling the militia, and burning the muster rolls and books at market crosses; of mutiny in the fleet; of addresses to the King about the oppressions of the war so tremendously worded as that magistrates rode in among the assemblage to stop the reading; and of one month (in 1797) in which "most of the counties, cities, and towns of the kingdom petitioned his majesty for the removal of ministers, and the consequent restoration of peace."—While the course of daily living was thus hard to the working man, and his future precarious, the Law was very cruel. The records of the Assizes in the Chronicle of Events are sickening to read. The vast and absurd variety of offences for which men and women were sentenced to death by the score, out of which one-third or so were really hanged, gives now an impression of devilish levity in dealing with human life, and must, at the time, have precluded all rational conception, on the part of the many, as to what Law is—to say nothing of that attachment to it, and reverence and trust in regard to it, which are indispensable to the true citizen temper.

1800.

Annual Register, 1800. Chron. 94.

MILITARY LIABILITIES.

Annual Register, 1800. Chron. 144.

Annual Register, 1797. Chron. 18.

SEVERITY OF THE LAW.

1800. The general health was at a lower average, among all these distresses, than was even safe for a people who might, at any moment, have to struggle for their existence. The habit of intemperance in wine was still prevalent among gentlemen; so that we read of one public man after another whose death or incapacity was ascribable to disease from drinking. Members of the Cabinet, Members of Parliament, and others, are quietly reported to have said this and that when they were drunk. The spirit decanters were brought out in the evenings, in middle class houses, as a matter of course; and gout, and other liver and stomach disorders were prevalent to a degree which the children of our time have no conception of. During the scarcity, the diseases of scarcity abounded, of course. Hundreds ate nettles and other weeds; and without salt, which was then taxed 15*s.* per bushel. Thousands of families adulterated their bread. More meat, however, was eaten by labourers, in ordinary times, than now. It was more commonly considered a part of their necessary food: but when meat averaged 9*d.* per lb., as it did in 1800, it was out of the reach of the labouring class. An address of Dr. Ferriar to the working people of Manchester in 1800, has been preserved, by which we see, not only how ripe was his wisdom in sanitary matters, but what were the sanitary conditions of the class and time. It is now believed that, at that period, the persons who daily washed from head to foot were extremely few; yet Dr. Ferriar counsels parents so to wash their children, in cold water, before they send them to work in the morning: so that he was thinking of others than infants. He warns the people against damp cellars, broken windows, stagnant air in back rooms, unaired bed-clothes, wet feet, work on an empty stomach, and pollution from slaughter-houses, and other foul places. He joins with the warning against ale-house indulgence one which appears rather strange—"strolling in the fields adjoining to the town," which he seems to think a rash exposure to cold. There was a notion abroad at that time that the worst peril to health was from "catching cold," and hence the popular treatment of fever—by heat and exclusion of air.—The horrors of small-pox were the worst of the time. Well intended as was the introduction of Inoculation, and great as were its benefits to those properly submitted to it, it had the effect of enormously increasing the mortality from small-pox. Before, disease had come in a flood, every few years, and swept away thousands like a plague, diminishing in the intervals to a point almost below notice. After the practice of Inoculation became extensive, the infection was kept always afloat. The scourge was most fearful towards the close of the last century. Ninety-two in every thousand deaths were from small-pox, in the last ten years: and in all our streets and villages and hospitals were the blind and diseased and disfigured who had survived. This was a woe about to be

Health.

Sanitary Report of 1842, p. 462.

Companion to the Almanac, 1834, p. 32.

removed. Dr. Jenner had made and published his discovery; and Vaccination began to be practised in 1800. Whatever improvements may hereafter take place in sanitary management, this date must always stand conspicuous in the history of the national health. 1800.

In the midst of all other perplexities and troubles, however severe, the condition of Ireland always remained the worst—the crowning affliction of the statesman. Before the end of the American war, Ireland had been cruelly neglected as to her means of defence, her protection and comfort. A handful of dismounted cavalry and of invalid soldiery was sent in reply to the request of port towns and populous districts to be furnished with the means of defence. The Irish then very naturally took measures for defending themselves; and before the end of 1781, the Volunteers exhibited a force of 80,000 men. This force could now obtain whatever it pleased to ask: and it asked and obtained the absolute independence and supremacy of the Irish parliament—under the same relations to the throne as the English parliament. Superficial observers, and few others, hoped that now all would go well in Ireland. This was called a final settlement; and English people asked what more the Irish could possibly want.—They wanted (what could not be had) a faithful parliament; a real representation. For want of this reality in their so-called representation, they were worse off after this settlement than before. While the numbers of Protestants in Ireland had been stationary, that of Catholics had been on the increase, till, from being two to one, they had now become four to one; and yet their House of Commons was returned almost entirely by the Orange interest. It was believed that about three-fourths of the 300 members were of the Orange party: and not less than 100 were placemen or pensioners in the direct interest of the government. Such a scene of faction and jobbing has perhaps never been witnessed under the pretence of working at legislation. As might be expected, the unrepresented and oppressed had recourse to rebellion. They invited the French to come and annex them to France. The French came, and would have annexed Ireland to France, but for a series of accidents, and some miscalculation of the force required. In 1797, the government were warned that an insurrection was meditated. They did not believe it, though there were 500,000 men banded together in conspiracy; and the militia who mounted guard in Dublin, and almost every where else throughout the island, would have let in the insurgents "with the greatest pleasure in life." But by the following March, no one pretended to have any doubt of the danger. The towns were nearly empty of men: and in the country, the cottages were full of women and children who could give no account of any men belonging to them. In Dublin the name of every inhabitant was registered upon his door; the walls

IRELAND.

Life of Curran, ii. 41.

1800. displayed government proclamations: there were prayers in the churches for life and safety: the theatre and other public exhibitions were closed: the prisons overflowed: the lawyers in the Courts and the members in the parliament House were in military uniform: a mournful satire on the "final settlement" of Ireland by means of an independent legislature. The outbreak was fearful. The mere cost of human life was not less than 70,000 lives, of which 50,000 were on the Irish side. And there was much else, besides the extinction of life, to make the Irish rebellion one of the most fearful and painful spectacles that the student of history can be compelled to look upon.

As it was clear that Ireland could, in no case, be more misgoverned than by her present parliament, and it was probable that a British parliament, with all its shortcomings, both of knowledge and of will, would give the people some better chance of improving their state than they had at present, the proposal to unite the legislatures gained adherents from this time forward, till the proposition became affirmed by the London parliament in 1799. Mr. Pitt was sanguine about this being the shortest and easiest method of emancipating the Catholics: and he allowed this view so far to influence his conversation and conduct as that the Catholics believed him pledged to procure their emancipation, if they assisted in carrying the Union: and this in the face of the King's declaration that he would favour the Union if it conduced to the stability of the Church: if otherwise, not. The King was, probably, told that all fear of Catholic ascendancy was put an end to by bringing the Irish representation into a really supreme parliament; while the Catholics might reasonably hope that their numerical superiority must become understood and recognised when the obstruction of the Protestant legislature in Dublin was done away. However this might be, there was a mistake. The Catholics believed themselves to be consenting to the Union on a vital condition which was not fulfilled; and thus, as we shall see, did the Union turn out to be no more of a "final settlement" of Ireland than any preceding arrangement.

1 Irish Union.

Life of Wilberforce, ii. 325.

Imputations of other kinds of inducement, charges of "profligacy and corruption," were freely thrown out in the Irish parliament-house and elsewhere, in the first months of 1800: and from that day to this, the calmest approvers of the Irish Union have been observed to make reservations in regard to the means by which the assent of the Irish to the measure was obtained. Perhaps there was secret corruption: but it seems also probable that the surprising change of mind manifested by the Dublin parliament between the sessions of 1799 and 1800 might suggest suspicions of bribery, while in fact the members were only exhibiting another instance of the passion, short-sightedness, and consequent fluctuation, which too often characterized their proceedings. In 1799, the Irish par-

liament assented to the English parliamentary resolutions in favour of the Union by a majority of only one vote. In the next year, the majorities on the same side were large; and in March, the two Houses agreed in an address to the King, assenting to the wisdom of the measure. Some members of both Houses, on both sides the Channel, implored the government to grant such delay as should be necessary for ascertaining the real feelings of the Irish nation on the subject: but this was refused by overwhelming majorities; and the Act of Union received the royal assent on the 2nd of July, 1800. 1800.

By this act, Great Britain and Ireland were henceforth to constitute one kingdom, and to be called "The United Kingdom" accordingly. There was to be one parliament: and in this parliament the spiritual peers of Ireland, and twenty-eight temporal peers, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, were to sit in the House of Lords, and one hundred members in the House of Commons. The Protestant churches of the two countries were to be united. The two countries were to be on equal terms as regarded trade and navigation, and treaties with foreign powers. The laws and courts of both kingdoms were to remain unaltered. From the date of the Union, all Acts of Parliament were to extend to Ireland, unless special exception were made. The succession to the imperial crown was to be the same as heretofore to the two kingdoms. It was on the 2nd of August, 1800, that the Irish Parliament met for the last time; and there is something affecting to those who have lived to watch the course of Irish affairs, in reading, at the end of half a century, the happy anticipations of the Viceroy, that, under the protection of Divine Providence, these united kingdoms would remain, in all future ages, the fairest monument of the reign in which their union took place. On the last day of the year and of the century, the King closed the last session of the British Parliament, which was now to become the Imperial Parliament. The occasion was indeed a mere adjournment for three weeks, as the House of Commons was in the midst of the business which at the time chiefly occupied the King's mind, and which he was impatient for the legislature to resume—the passing of measures restrictive on the use of flour, on account of the scarcity. Early in the year, a bill had passed which forbade the sale of bread that had been baked less than twenty-four hours. Next, laws were made which bestowed bounties on the importation of corn and of fish; subjected millers to supervision by the excise, and to a legal rate of profits; and stopped the distilleries, to save the barley. Other measures of the same tendency were so interesting to the King and Ministry, that we find no mention in the royal speech of the mighty event which was now to take place, except in a parenthetical kind of way—as a reason why there must be some delay about the Bread Bills, but

Stephen's Commentaries, i. 94, 95.

Annual Reg., 1800. Chron. 183.

Annual Reg., 1800. Chron. 178.

1800. no reason for the delay being a long one. But that the speech stands before our eyes complete in the records of the time, we could hardly believe that such could be the close of the series of British parliaments, on the eve of the admission of the great Irish element.

While there were some who objected to the Union altogether, as abolishing the nationality of Ireland, and who were convinced that nothing but British force and ministerial corruption could have carried the measure, there were other Irish patriots who entered protests against the incompleteness of the change. They would have had the Viceroyalty abolished; and also all custom-houses on the opposite coasts of the Irish Channel; and they would have transferred their two Houses of Parliament complete into the British Legislature. The King thought the Viceroyalty might be abolished: and probably every one now wishes there had been free trade, from the beginning, between the two countries: but, as for other points, the political fusion must stop somewhere, if the Irish were to preserve anything distinctive at all, or to enter into the Union with any good will: and it is, in such cases, for an after time to perceive and decide where the fusion should stop. As will presently appear, there was something more pressing than this which had been neglected, and which made the subject of the Union the bitterest and the most disastrous that filled the minds of our statesmen for a long course of years.

Temper of the Times.

It is common to us to hear and to say that the temper of the times, fifty years ago, was warlike, though, in fact, the people were beginning to have, and to express, a passionate desire for peace. To say that the temper of the times was warlike gives no idea, to us who can scarcely remember war times, of the spirit of violence, and the barbaric habits of thought and life, which then prevailed. Everything seems, in the records, to have suffered a war change. The gravest annalists, the most educated public men, called the First Consul "the Corsican murderer," and so forth, through the whole vocabulary of abuse. Nelson's first precept of professional morality was to hate a Frenchman as you would the devil. Government rule took the form of coercion; and popular discontent that of rebellion; and suffering that of riot. The passionate order of crime showed itself slaughterous: the mean kind exercised itself in peculation of military and naval provisions. Affliction took its character from the war. Tens of thousands of widows, and hundreds of thousands of orphans, were weeping or starving in the midst of society; and among the starving were a multitude of the families of employed sailors, who were sent off on long voyages, while their pay was three or four years in arrear. The mutiny, which spread half round our coasts, was a natural, almost a necessary consequence. Because it was "suppressed," it does not follow that the feelings connected with it were extinguished. In Wilber-

force's Diary we find an expression of strong regret that "the officers do not love the sailors," such being, he observes, the consequence of fear entering into such a relation—fear on the part of superiors. The sufferings from bad seasons, again, were aggravated by a taxation growing heavier every year, and money running shorter every day—all on account of the war. The very sports of the time took their character from the same class of influences. The world went to see reviews, at which the King (when well) appeared on horseback. Then, there were illuminations for victories: and funerals of prodigious grandeur, when military and naval officers of eminence were to be buried in places of honour. There were presentations of jewelled swords, in provincial cities as well as in London: and, from the metropolitan theatre to the puppet-show, there were celebrations and representations of combats by sea or land. The inhabitants of towns came to their windows and doors at the tramp of cavalry; ladies presented colours to regiments; and children played at soldiers on the village green. Prayers and thanksgivings in church and chapel—services utterly confounding now to the moral sense of a time which has leisure to see that Christianity is a religion of brotherly love—then met with a loud response which had in it a hard tone of worldly passion: and from church and chapel, the congregation took a walk to see the Sunday drill. Manufacturers and tradesmen contested vehemently for army and navy contracts; and the bankrupt list in the Gazette showed a large proportion of dependents on army and navy contractors who could not get paid. If the vices and miseries of the time took their character from the war, there was a fully corresponding manifestation of virtue. From Pitt at the head, down to the humblest peasant or the most timid woman in the remotest corner of the kingdom, all who were worthy were animated by the appeals of the times, and magnanimity came out in all directions. The courage was not only in the Nelsons and the Wellesleys: it was in the soul of the sailor's love, and the grey-haired father of the soldier, when their hearts beat at the thought of battle and the threat of invasion. The self-denial was found all abroad, from the Pitt who could respectfully support an Addington Ministry, and a Wilberforce who curtailed his luxuries, and exceeded his income by 3,000*l.* in one year, to feed the poor in the scarcity, down to the sister who dismissed her brother to the wars with a smile, and the operative who worked extra hours when he should have slept—all sustained alike by the thought that they were obeying a call of their country. It was a phase of the national life which should be preserved in vivid representation, for its own value, as well as because it may be a curious spectacle to a future age. 1800.

CHAPTER II.

1801. THE first days of the new century—not the first years or months, but the first days—present a picture of the faults and weaknesses of statesmanship, which will make it a wonder through all historic time that the British nation preserved its place in the world. After putting together the facts yielded by the various records of the time, and thus obtaining a clear view of the intrigues, the selfishness, the ignorance, the foolishness, the mutual deceit and misunderstandings, of the parties on and about the throne, the student of history draws a long breath of thankfulness and surprise that the nation should have escaped falling into a political chaos, and thus becoming an easy prey to foreign foes. Some parts of the story remain obscure; but the greater portion has of late become sufficiently clear to explain and justify Lord Malmesbury's exclamation in soliloquy, "We forget the host of enemies close upon us, and every body's mind thinks on one object only, unmindful that all they are contending about may vanish and disappear if we are subdued by France."

Diaries, iv. 9.

Mr. Pitt. The chief obscurity is how such things as are now to be disclosed could happen under the premiership of Mr. Pitt. The mystery of the particulars of his conduct must remain: but a careful study of the men involved with him seems to yield a general impression that Mr. Pitt's chief fault was an undue self-reliance, leading him to a careless treatment of the King, a want of consideration to his colleagues, and a too easy trust that he could manage difficulties as they arose, by means of resources which had never yet failed him. His temper was so sanguine as to impair his sagacity throughout his whole career. He was always found trusting our allies abroad—not only their good faith and ability, but their good fortune. He was always found expecting that the Austrians would defeat Napoleon in the next battle; believing that the plan of every campaign was admirable and inexpugnable; immoveably convinced that what he considered the right must prevail—not only in the long run, but at every step. If his fortitude of soul and sweetness of temper had not incessantly overborne his imperfection of judgment, his career must have ended very early; for his failures were incessant. Such a repetition of failures would not have been permitted to any man whose personal greatness and sweetness did not overbear other people's faculties as

much as his own. If it is impossible now to read his private letters, written in the darkest hours of his official adversities, without a throbbing of the heart at the calm fortitude and indomitable hopefulness of their tone, it may be easily conceived how overpowering was the influence of these qualities over the minds of the small men, and the superficial men, and the congenial men, and the affectionate idolators, by whom he was surrounded. If any of these doubted whether the Austrians would win the next battle, it was not till they went home and sank into themselves; and then they did not tell him so. If any of them feared Napoleon more than they trusted plans of a campaign, it was not while his bright eye was upon them, and his eloquence of hope was filling their ears: and when they relapsed into dread, they did not tell him so. The restless, suspicious, worrying, obstinate, ignorant mind of the half-insane King was laid at rest for the hour when they were together; and the charm which invested the minister made him for those hours the sovereign over his master. It was no wonder that all this did him harm, and tended to impair still further his already weak sagacity. When he carried his accustomed methods into the conduct of critical affairs of domestic politics, it could not be but that, sooner or later, he must find himself involved in some tremendous difficulty. He was always kept in the dark about one thing or another that it was important for him to know. Nobody ever hinted to him that he was wrong: nobody ever called him to account: there were none but party foes to show him the other side of any question. Holding his head high above the jobbers and self-seekers about him, and never looking down into their dirty tricks, or giving ear to their selfish cravings, except to get rid of them by gratifying them — too easily, no doubt, but with a heedless contempt; resorting for sympathy and counsel to the best of his friends, and then finding little but open-hearted idolatry, it is no wonder that he was unguarded, over-confident, and virtually, though not consciously, despotic. Despotic he was throughout. His comrades, including the King, revelled in the despotism, on account of its charm. The suffering people felt the worst of the despotism without any of the charm. While this host of sufferers was growing restless under the burdens of the war, and some of them frantic under the repression of their civil liberties; while the Northern Powers were banding against us, to cut off our commerce and humble our naval pride; while Napoleon was marshalling his 500,000 soldiers on their coast, so that they could be seen from our cliffs on a sunny day; while the frame of the great minister was wearing down under the secret griefs and mortifications which he never breathed to human ear, he involved himself by his constitutional and habitual faults in a fog of difficulty, which darkened the opening of the new century, and poisoned his peace and his life. He scarcely abated the loftiness of his carriage in the midst of it: 1801.

1801. he manifested a higher magnanimity than ever before: his patience and gentleness almost intoxicated the moral sense of his adorers: he seemed to forget all cares in reading Aristophanes and reciting Horace or Lucan with his young friend Canning under the trees at sunset, or kept together parties of friends—ladies, children, and all—round the fireside till past midnight, by his flow of rich discourse; but his spirit was breaking. He had learned what fear was: and it was a fear which brought remorse with it. No remorse for the slaughter of the war; no remorse for the woes of widows and orphans; no remorse for having overborne the Englishman's liberty of speech and political action. About these things he appears to have had no sensibility. He had no popular sympathies; though he certainly would have had, if the people had ever come before his eyes, or he had had that high faculty of imagination which might have brought them before the eye of his mind. To him, the people were an abstraction; and he had no turn for abstractions. The nearest approach he made to entertaining abstractions was in acting for the national glory and international duty. His view was probably right, as far as it went: but it was imperfect—so imperfect, that he may be pronounced unfit for such a place as he held, in such times. His remorse was for nothing of this kind; but for his having done that which caused a return of the King's insanity, and, by that consequence, compelled him to break faith with the Catholics. He always denied—and everybody believes him—that any express pledge was given to the Catholics: but nobody denies that those of them who agreed to the Union did so under an authorized expectation that they might send representatives out of their own body to Parliament. This expectation he found himself compelled to disappoint. He was not one to acknowledge the effect upon himself of such a difficulty as had arisen through his means: but all who loved him immediately saw, and those who opposed him soon learned, that the peace of his mind and the brilliancy of his life were overshadowed. But a short term of life remained: and that had much bitterness in it—so much that it was truly a bitterness unto death. He died broken-hearted.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, i. 279.

What he had now done was this:—In January 1799, he declared, in the debate on the Union, that no change ought to be made in the Test Acts until "the conduct of the Roman Catholics should be such as to make it safe for the government to admit them to further privileges, and until the temper of the times should be favourable to such a measure." As months passed on, however, the minister saw more and more clearly how harmless such a proportion of Catholics as could be sent from Ireland would be in the British parliament, though their vast preponderance in their own island had prevented all thoughts of admitting them there to legislative offices. Mr. Windham, Lord Grenville, and many others

of Mr. Pitt's habitual associates, agreed with him in this; and it is clear that they often talked the matter over, and discussed the securities which might be deemed sufficient, till they became so familiarized with the subject as to grow careless and indiscreet. The Catholics knew what they were thinking about, and the King did not. That is, the King knew something of his minister's opinion, from conversation with him in an ordinary way: but Mr. Pitt neglected to give the due official intimation to the King, when the subject of admitting Catholics to parliament became one of official discussion. When, at the beginning of 1801, the King was told by Lord Spencer that the subject had been under consideration so far back as the preceding August, he was deeply offended. This disrespectful carelessness of Mr. Pitt was a fair occasion for self-seekers and enviers to take advantage of the minister's neglect, and the Sovereign's weaknesses. Lord Auckland seems to have made the first move—he who, after these efforts to displace Mr. Pitt, mentioned himself as thought of for Prime Minister, but who remained only a joint holder of the office of Postmaster General with Lord Charles Spencer. He and the Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, wrought together, in the autumn, with deep secrecy: but such secrets cannot for ever be hidden: and the transaction is now well understood. In September, the Chancellor called on the Duke of Portland, and asked him what he thought of the plan for Catholic Emancipation at that time in discussion among the ministers. Finding the Duke favourable to the measure, he proposed to leave with him a paper he had written, setting forth the anti-catholic view. This paper reached the King on the 13th of December. Meantime, and in concert with this action of the Chancellor, Lord Auckland, also a member of the Administration, wrote (with strong injunctions of secrecy as regarded himself) to his brother-in-law, the Archbishop of Canterbury, telling him that he considered it his duty to inform him that a measure was in contemplation which would be fatal to the Church; and to suggest to him that it was his duty, as Primate, to lay warnings before the King. The Archbishop consulted the Primate of Ireland and the Bishop of London, and then wrote the desired warning to the King, who was at Weymouth at that time. The King wrote a long remonstrance to his minister, which not only showed, but avowed, that he knew what was going on. After this, it would be absurd to say that the King was kept in the dark later than the autumn: but there was still no such official communication as the importance of the subject required: and the effect of the consequent irritation on the weak brain of the old man could be no matter of surprise to anybody.

1801.

THE CATHOLIC QUESTION IN THE CABINET.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, i. 298.

Diaries of Lord Malmesbury, iv. 2.

iv. 22.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, i. 500.

Diaries, &c., iv. 17.

In September, Lord Castlereagh, then the young Chief Secretary for Ireland, brought over the scheme for Catholic emancipation which was considered the best: and if, as there appears to be no

1801. doubt, this was "the plan of Lord C———," which is freely handled in the Chancellor's paper, the King must have known all about it at least for some weeks: yet, at the levee on the 28th of January, the day after Mr. Pitt had laid the matter before him, the King said to Mr. Henry Dundas, then Secretary of State, "What is this that this young lord has brought over, which they are going to throw at my head? I shall reckon any man my personal enemy" (and this he said also to Mr. Windham on the same day) "who proposes any such measure. The most Jacobinical thing I ever heard of." Dundas's answer was, "You will find among those who are friendly to that measure some whom you never supposed your enemies."—The next day, January 29th, after Mr. Addington had been rechosen Speaker of the Commons, and while the swearing in of members was proceeding, the King wrote to the Speaker, to ask his intervention. "I wish he would, from himself, open Mr. Pitt's eyes on the danger arising from the agitating this improper question, which may prevent his ever speaking to me on a subject on which I can scarcely keep my temper, and also his giving great apprehension to every true member of our church," &c. It was not only his temper that the King could not keep. His wits were going. He called to General Garth one day at this time, to ride up close to him: and said he had had no sleep the last night, and felt bilious and unwell: that the reason was that Mr. Pitt had applied to him to emancipate the Catholics. On arriving at Kew, the General was desired to find the Coronation Oath in the library, and to read it aloud. The King, as usual, begging the question about the liberty of the Catholics being fatal to the Protestant religion, declared with vehemence that he would rather beg his bread from door to door all through Europe than break his oath by consenting to the measure.

Wilberforce's Diary, iii. 7.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, i. 286.

i. 285.

Mr. Addington, whose genius was not for correct representation, carried to the poor King a report of Mr. Pitt's yielding, which filled his heart with joy for the hour. But before night, the mistake was discovered by a letter arriving from the Minister—calm, unbending and decisive as to his opinion and intentions on the great question. This was on Saturday, January 31st. When the Speaker waited on the King by appointment that evening, after the arrival of Mr. Pitt's letter, he was greeted with a command to undertake the conduct of affairs. When he would have declined, the King said to him, very earnestly, "Lay your hand upon your heart, and ask yourself where I am to turn for support if *you* do not stand by me." Mr. Pitt's comment, when his friend Addington went to relate it to him, was, "I see nothing but ruin, Addington, if you hesitate."

i. 287.

January, 1801. Proposed Change of Ministry.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, i. 298.

According to the King's own account, it was on the next day, Sunday, February 1st, that Mr. Dundas waited on him to endeavour to convey to him the ministers' view of the matter in dispute: and it is believed to have been on this occasion that the sovereign would

February.

not listen to their construction of the oath which he made his plea. When told that the engagement related to the monarch's executive, and not his legislative action, the King exclaimed, "None of your Scotch metaphysics, Mr. Dundas!"—On the same day, Mr. Pitt sent in what he intended to be his letter of resignation, after he had held the Premiership for seventeen years. His master's attachment to him was so strong that, in his reply, he left as wide an opening as his troubled mind would allow for the minister to recede; but Mr. Pitt's rejoinder was as unbending and explicit as before: and on the 5th, his resignation was courteously accepted; and Mr. Addington proceeded to attempt to form an administration. The work was difficult: for the most capable of Mr. Pitt's friends went out with him; Mr. Dundas, Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Windham. It was no ordinary occasion of changing the rulers of the empire. While inferior men—the self-seekers, who thought politics were ordained to fill their pockets and magnify their names—were hard to please, complaining that an income of 2000*l.* a year was too little, and striving to get poor relations and even their butlers and valets provided for in small offices, better men all over the kingdom saw that on this arrangement depended the allegiance (of the heart, at least) of Ireland, and the mighty question of peace or war with France, and with the banded powers of the North. The choice of ministers was restricted: for the new Premier was hedged in between the parties of Pitt and Fox; and it was difficult to see how, if the King maintained his ground about the Catholic question, he could avoid choosing his most capable ministers from out of the ranks of Opposition. It would have been a hard task for a man of more ability than Mr. Addington. Mr. Pitt's magnanimity came to the rescue. He offered to sustain the new minister with his whole force; and it came to be presently understood that he would be virtually minister, while retaining his independence on the Catholic question. The country therefore supposed that the decision was made for continued war.

1801.

Life of Mackintosh, i. 170.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, i. 289.

The King's mind was, however, too much disturbed to subside. On the 6th of February, the day after Mr. Addington's acceptance of office, the King read his coronation oath to his family, asked them if they understood it, and declared, "If I violate it, I am no longer legal sovereign of this country, but it falls to the House of Savoy."

Diaries of LordMalmesbury, iv. 22.

The secret of the change of ministry was now oozing out, and causing intense excitement from its connexion with the War question; and the public agitation reacted on the King. On the 7th, Mr. Addington gave the customary dinner, as Speaker, to a large number of guests, who all secretly knew what was about to happen. On the 8th, Mr. Pitt and his successor were observed to dine together without witnesses. On the 9th, all London was speculating on the arrangements. On the 10th, Mr. Addington resigned the Speaker-

1801. ship, to which he had been elected a few days before; and on the 11th, the Attorney General, Sir John Mitford, resigning his office for the purpose, succeeded to the Speakership. A letter from the King to Mr. Addington, of that date, is clear and sensible; the well-known letter which declares his opinion that the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland would be abolished after a time, though it was necessary at first to continue it, in order to extinguish the system of Irish jobbing, and to show that the Viceroy himself could only recommend to office, while the real patronage rested with the Imperial government. A note of the next day, however, exulting in the election of the Speaker, manifests strong excitement. On that day, the 12th, some mortification occurred in the resignation of Mr. Canning, then a rising young man whom the new Minister would have been glad to retain, on account of his brilliant abilities. Mr. Pitt urged his young friend to remain: but it was Canning who had urged Mr. Pitt not to yield the point on which he went out of office, saying that for three years past so many concessions had been made to the King's prejudices, and so many important measures overruled by them, that the government was materially weakened; and it was high time, for the sake of the country, to make a stand against the evil influences which swayed the King. Resigning for such reasons as these, Mr. Canning was a great loss. The first hint we find of the recognition of Mr. Addington's incapacity for his new position is in Mr. Canning's promise to Mr. Pitt not to laugh at the appointment of the new Premier. Lord Malmesbury already saw the hollowness of the state of things, when such "sneering" went on in private, while public professions of support were made which seem to justify the poor King's almost ludicrous reliance on his obsequious new minister. On the 13th, we find the King clinging to the hope that Mr. Pitt had been led on to his "rash step" of advocating the cause of the Catholics, and that "his own good heart" now impelled him to make reparation in the form of support of his successor. On the same day, the King remained long in church, as it was the day appointed for a general fast. He caught cold; and the next day wrote letters which show hurry and excitement. "God forbid he should be ill!" writes Lord Malmesbury on the 17th. It was a most critical point of time. Lord Colchester's diary reports that he never saw more trepidation in the House—more anxiety and concern on the ministerial side, or more eagerness in the opposition. And Mr. Pitt had not resigned. The painful interview with him was impending when the King was taken ill. On the 18th, the King was observed to talk very loud, and it became known that he had for some time used violent expressions about the Catholic question, saying that it might bring the advocates of emancipation to the gibbet. In a few hours more, his madness could not be concealed; and the immediate occasion was so clear that Mr. Pitt never recovered the shock. On the 23rd,

Life of Lord Sidmouth, i. 303.

Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, iv. 5.

Illness of the King.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, i. 313.

the poor King said, after some hours of moody silence, "I am better now, but I will remain true to the Church." No wonder Mr. Pitt was ill too; "very unwell—much shaken—gouty and nervous." The Prince of Wales took the matter more easily. While his father's derangement was filling all minds with concern and dismay, he went to a concert at Lady Hamilton's, and there said aloud to Calonne, the French ex-minister, "Have you heard that my father is as mad as ever?" Such was the Prince who must be Regent, if the illness continued; and it was another heavy anxiety to Mr. Pitt. There was worse to come, however. That which finally broke his spirit about the Catholic question, and made him surrender all care for his political honour on that pressing subject, was a message from the King, sent by his physician in the first week of March. "Tell him," said the King to Dr. Willis, "I am now quite well; quite recovered from my illness; but what has *he* not to answer for who is the cause of my having been ill at all?" Hard and unreasonable as now appears this punishment of a statesman for a sincere and inevitable conviction—or, at most, for some carelessness in the management of the topic—it was too much for the courage of one already so shaken. Mr. Pitt wrote a submissive letter to the King, and pledged himself never to stir the subject more.

1801.

Diaries, iv. 20.

iv. 21.

iv. 34.

The King was, however, not so well as he himself believed. For several weeks afterwards we find notices of his being indiscreet, sentimental, and restless; of the Prince of Wales insinuating that he was completely deranged; of acute observers fearing that he would sink into fatuity; of the Queen and Princesses appearing with swollen eyes and depressed countenances. And already, throughout this month of March, the new Premier—actually not yet in office, because Mr. Pitt had had no opportunity of resigning the seals—was planning a Peace, though no one could conceive how the venture was to be made of mentioning it to the King. When once Mr. Pitt had yielded the Catholic question, there seemed to be no reason why he should not continue minister: and there is no doubt that it was the ardent wish of the King that he should; and the wish also of all who feared a hasty and inglorious peace, such as the new Premier showed a disposition to make. But Mr. Addington, though he had so lately declared himself to be "a mere *locum tenens* for Mr. Pitt," now showed an indisposition to go out; and Mr. Pitt was quite as reluctant to come in. He was enfeebled and subdued for the time — wanted to go into the country and be quiet — and even encouraged Mr. Addington to make Peace, declaring — what was indeed true, and had been true for years past —that the finances of the country required it. After this, the Premier was so bent on peace that grave apprehensions were entertained about the sacrifices that he would make for the sake of it: and some even hoped, as a last chance for the national dignity, that

March.

DISPOSITION TO PEACE.

1801. Napoleon would assume his most overbearing manner; a manner too overbearing to be tolerated even by an abject minister, and an exhausted people. Before March was out, the court ladies were enabled to whisper that the Cape, Minorca, and Gibraltar—which Lord St. Vincent declared to be of no value—were to be given up. Others supposed that some mark of complaisance to the Emperor Paul of Russia would be required; that absurd tyrant whom all the world was beginning to conclude to be crazy. In February, Paul had ordered his cruisers to take all ships going to England. In March, he was moody and savage about England, and sequestrating British property as fast as he could lay hands on it, in prosecution of the quarrel about the right of search claimed and exercised by England, in order to prevent the supply of naval stores to the vessels of the enemy—the Northern Powers all, at that time, leaning towards France. The hungry people within our island, suffering under an infliction of scarcity of several years' duration, dreaded the closing of the Baltic ports, and the cutting off of the supply of corn from thence. Before the middle of March, a fleet was sent, under Sir Hyde Parker, to the Baltic, to back what was to be said by our representatives at the Northern Courts about the late treatment of the British in their ports, and on their seas: and events occurred, even before the month was out, which settled the points of what the behaviour of the English should be to the Emperor Paul, and what access they should have to the ports of the Baltic.

The Northern Confederacy.

In the preceding December, Paul had issued a challenge to the crowned heads of Europe, to settle their disputes by single combat with him, each being attended by his Prime Minister. To the English, the idea of their stout, elderly sovereign engaging in such a combat, within closed lists, with Mr. Pitt for his squire, was so ludicrous, that it settled with them the question of the Emperor's sanity. A succession of whims, some of humour and some of cruelty, kept up the impression. As the spring opened, his family became wretched, his subjects in despair, his enemies and allies perplexed and annoyed. As for himself, he grew suspicious and alarmed; and it is believed that if he had lived another day or two, he would have shut up his own sons in a fortress. On the night of the 21st of March, ten persons, who had resolved that such a state of things must be put an end to, by coercing the Emperor, or worse, supped together, and drank freely. It is thought that they did not intend to murder him when they went to his room: but he was dead before they left it. The Empress Dowager was the only person who seemed to reprobate and resent the act. The next morning, the people were seen embracing in the streets, and shedding tears of joy: and the intimations to foreign courts that a stroke of apoplexy had deprived Russia of her sovereign were received without any show of regret elsewhere than in London.

The Emperor Paul.

While these things were going on at St. Petersburg, the British

fleet bound for the Baltic was preparing to venture the passage of the Sound, in order to seek a remedy at Copenhagen for the failure of our negotiations there. When Sir Hyde Parker was hesitating whether to proceed by the Sound, under the guns of Cronenburg Castle, or round by the Belt, Nelson, the second in command, said, "Let it be by the Sound, or the Belt, or any way; only lose not an hour." By the Sound they went at last—on the 30th of March—before the death of Paul was known abroad. The guns of Cronenburg Castle did no harm, as no attack was made from the other shore, and the British fleet passed safely within a mile of the Swedish coast. This fleet consisted of eighteen sail of the line, accompanied by frigates and smaller vessels. The force of the hostile allies was much larger—numbering forty sail of the line or more: but everybody knew that the higher naval skill of the British, and the union of their fleet under one command, must largely compensate for inferiority of force. When the time for attack was come, Nelson offered to go into action with ten ships of the line. His admiral gave him twelve, remaining at the entrance of the Sound with the rest. The channel was narrow and intricate, and the Danes had removed all the buoys: but this was not an obstacle which could deter Nelson. He had the channel sounded, and new buoys placed, by daily and nightly diligence, till on the 1st of April his ships were ranged off the end of the shoal in front of Copenhagen, ready to advance the remaining two leagues as soon as the wind should serve. The next morning, the wind was fair; but the pilots showed themselves unfit for their office. Nelson always afterwards said that it was the unequalled difficulty of the navigation which made the glory of the victory of Copenhagen. The master of one of the English vessels, Mr. Bryerly, undertook to lead the fleet, and removed from the Bellona to the Edgar for the purpose. By 10 o'clock the action began. The difficulties were many and great; and no fewer than three of the ships presently grounded. The indecision and delays of Sir Hyde Parker had throughout been very trying to Nelson, who felt that on the immediate action of this fleet depended the issue of the quarrel between Great Britain and the Northern Powers. If the Baltic allies could be humbled at the outset of hostilities, war might be extinguished on one side, and our prospects much improved on the other; for there was no doubt that the Northern Confederacy was instigated by France. Seeing this, Nelson had found it hard to bear the loss of time, and appearance of weakness caused by the indecision of his superior officer: but he had more to bear this day. At the end of three hours, when the exterior defences of the Danes were not yet destroyed; when he had not got access to their great ships; when signals of distress were flying from the mastheads of three of the British ships, and the three which were sent as a reinforcement could not make their way to the scene of action, Sir Hyde Parker

1801.

ENGLISH FLEET IN THE BALTIC.

BATTLE OF COPENHAGEN. *April* 2.

1801. signalled to discontinue the engagement. Nelson knew that this would be ruin, and felt that all might yet be well. He resolved to disobey. In the mood of sublime jesting which heroes now and then manifest in moments of exigency, he put the glass to his blind eye, and turning towards the reserve, declared that he saw no such signal. He kept up his own—that for close action; and, as he hoped, his comrades had their attention so closely fixed on his proceedings and orders as not to observe the signal of the Commander-in-chief. It was so with all except "the gallant good Riou," as Nelson called him. He was so placed as to be compelled to see and obey the order to retire. As he unwillingly withdrew his little squadron of frigates, sloops, and fireships, he exclaimed, "What will Nelson think of us?" But a fatal shot in a few moments ended his anguish. None of the other commanders were aware that they were fighting against orders. Before two o'clock, the Danes had nearly ceased firing; and their exterior line of defence had surrendered.

Southey's Life of Nelson, ii. 127.

By assuming victory at this moment, Nelson obtained it. The truth was that the Danish line was uninjured; and that his own squadron was in great peril from the difficulty of the navigation. He really was deeply touched, at the same time, by the gallantry of the Danes who remained on board the surrendered vessels, who were fired upon at once by the batteries on shore and by the British ships; by the latter on account of the refusal of the conquered to be boarded by the boats of the British. Nelson went to his cabin, and wrote that letter to the Crown Prince which he would not close with a wafer, because he chose to avoid all appearance of haste. He called for a candle, and made a large seal. This letter, sent with a flag of truce, declared that Vice-Admiral Nelson had orders to spare Denmark when resistance ceased: that the line of defence had surrendered: but that, unless the firing on the part of the Danes was stopped, he should be compelled to burn his prizes, without being able to save the men, whom he had much rather consider the brethren than the foes of the British. In half an hour, an answering flag of truce arrived, and the firing ceased. The Crown Prince desired to know the object of the note he had received. The reply was that humanity was Nelson's object: that he therefore consented that hostilities should be suspended; that the wounded Danes should be permitted to go ashore; and that the rest of the prisoners should be removed from the surrendered vessels before they were burned. In conclusion, Nelson declared that he should consider this the greatest victory he had ever gained, if it should lead to a reconciliation between England and Denmark. He now turned over the negotiation to Sir Hyde Parker, and lost not a moment in extricating his ships from their perilous position. His own vessel and three more were aground on the shoal for many hours. As he left his ship, he observed that

Ib., ii. 135.

he might be hanged for fighting against orders; but he did not care. Twenty-four hours' truce were immediately agreed on; and this set him comparatively at ease. He went ashore to confer with the Crown Prince; and the people received him with shouts and thanksgivings, on account of his humanity to the conquered. His plain-speaking to the prince, while only natural to him, was a better policy than any other man could have adopted. When asked why he had thus forced his way hither, and given battle, he said it was to crush the Northern Confederacy: and he pointed to the minister Bernsdorf, who was present, and accused him of being the author of the Confederacy, and answerable for the mischief that had been done. In the course of five days, an armistice of fourteen weeks was agreed on — the terms being, of course, favourable to the British, without any new infliction on the Danes. 1801. ARMISTICE WITH DENMARK.

The first object now was to get away safely. Sir Hyde Parker proceeded with the least injured ships, leaving Nelson to refit the others and follow. The dangers and delays were great from the character of the navigation: and prodigious was the astonishment of the Baltic allies when the British fleet emerged from the dangerous channels into their great gulf. The Russian fleet was frozen up at Revel. The Swedish squadron, consisting of only six ships of the line, was at sea; and the Commander-in-chief went in search of it, and found it. The Swedes had no chance, in the absence of their allies; and their king had never liked the confederacy he was compelled to join: so there was no difficulty in arranging an armistice in that quarter too. Before the British fleet could reach the Russian, a messenger from the Russian ambassador at Copenhagen overtook Sir Hyde Parker, with news of the death of Paul, and of the willingness of his successor, the young Alexander, to be at peace with England. WITH SWEDEN.

Sir Hyde Parker thought the affair now virtually concluded, and turned homewards. Nelson was again grieved—grieved at a precipitation as imprudent, in his eyes, as the former delays. The negotiations with Russia had still to be transacted; the wind was fair for Revel; and there seemed no reason why the fleet should not remain in the Baltic, to keep the diplomatists to their business, and be on the spot in case of failure. He soon had it all his own way. On the 5th of May, Sir Hyde Parker received his recall, and Nelson was appointed to the full command.

After putting a watch upon the Swedes, he hastened to Revel, to bring the Russians to a separate account for the injuries which British subjects and property had undergone from the outrageous proceedings of Paul. But the delays of the late Commander-in-chief had afforded opportunity for the Russian vessels to get out, and repair to a safer place, where they could be protected by the batteries of Cronstadt. Messages of distrust passed between him

1801. and the Russian government: and it was the end of the month before the Russian admiral, sent to sea after him, to offer amicable explanations, came to an understanding with him: but early in June, letters from St. Petersburgh reached him at Rostock, which granted all he wished. They declared that all the persons and property seized and sequestrated by the late Emperor were ordered to be given up; that the late misunderstandings were a matter of pure regret; and that a visit from himself would give great pleasure at the Court of Russia. Nelson was ill, and had already applied for leave to return home. His frame, exhausted by the wear and tear of his previous service, could not endure the climate of the Baltic; and his return was a matter of life or death. So he could not accept the invitation from St. Petersburgh, but returned home. The mode of his return was characteristic. He thought it even now too soon to weaken the Baltic fleet by the withdrawal of a single frigate; and, though he always suffered grievously from sea-sickness in a small vessel, he chose to come home in a brig. He quitted the Baltic on the 19th of June.

With Russia.

Pacific Convention. *June 17th.* Annual Reg., 1801. State Papers, p. 212.

Two days before, a pacific convention between Great Britain and Russia had been signed at St. Petersburgh, by which "unalterable friendship and understanding" were engaged for, and the needful specifications were made about the conduct of commerce, about the limits of the right of search, and about the mutual obligations of the parties, when either was at war with a third power. Sweden and Denmark were invited to join the convention; and they were very ready to do so. Thus terminated the quarrel with the Northern Powers; and thus was the way to a peace with France made somewhat more open than it could have been while such a contest was proceeding.

August.

The two immediate causes of this pacification of the Baltic were the death of Paul and the vigour and daring of Nelson before Copenhagen. The sacrifice of life in that battle was called great: but when it is looked at as the whole bloodshed of a war, it appears little enough. Of the British, 350 were killed, and 850 wounded (not mortally). Of the Danes, 1,700 or 1,800 were killed and wounded. The warfare, short as it was, was regarded with deep concern by all right-feeling men. The Prince of Denmark was the nephew of our sovereign; and the friendship of the two countries had been cordial till the entrance of Denmark into the Northern Confederacy changed her into an enemy. We have seen what was the gentleness of Nelson's tone, and what his reception when he went ashore. There was thenceforward a reciprocity of friendly offices. The Prince sent an affectionate letter to his uncle, George III., by the hands of Col. Stuart, the British military commander at Copenhagen, on the opening of the armistice: and when the embargo was taken off Danish vessels in English ports, the expenses, both of the laying on and the removal, were defrayed by England. As for the naval officers commanding in the Baltic, Sir Hyde Parker

Annual Reg., 1801, p. 116.

requested to be tried before a court martial; but his honour was not considered by the Admiralty so far compromised as to justify such a proceeding. Lord Nelson, from being a Baron, was made a Viscount. Dear as he had before been to the nation, he returned dearer than ever. It was not only that the critical battle of Copenhagen—his hardest-fought battle, as he called it—exhibited most remarkably all his finest characteristics; it was yet more that his frustration of the Northern Confederacy disposed at once of a whole batch of enemies, while it mortified and enfeebled the arch-foe, Napoleon, and so brought nearer the prospect of peace, for which the people were sighing. Nelson found, on his return, that nobody wanted to hang him for gaining the victory of Copenhagen contrary to orders. 1801. Annual Reg., 1801, Chron. 22. NELSON'S RETURN.

In another quarter a victory had been achieved which improved the chances of peace: and it was the more gladly hailed because it happened when all England was looking for bad news. It was a great object to humble and overpower the French in Egypt, lest they should—as had nearly happened the year before—send strong reinforcements to Napoleon. Sir Ralph Abercromby, with his small but well-conditioned army, had been sent out in January in the fleet under Admiral Lord Keith. While they were waiting in a bay of the coast of Karamania for the supply of horses which had been promised from Constantinople for the use of the cavalry and artillery, four French vessels, with some transports, evaded the British cruisers, and landed large quantities of ammunition and stores at the mouth of the Nile. Then, when the horses arrived from Constantinople, they were found to be such miserable beasts that only a few could be kept for the artillery and a handful of the cavalry; and the rest were shot or sold for a dollar a head. The cavalry must serve as infantry.—Next, it was found that the Turkish force would be all hindrance and no help to the British; and in truth, instead of an effective ally, it proved to be ill-equipped, disorganized, and ravaged by the plague; so that a junction with it was by no means to be desired. At the same time that the British were disappointed of this expected addition to their force, they discovered that the French army in Egypt was more than twice as large as had been supposed. It had been believed to have undergone a reduction, by various accidents, to about 14,000 men: whereas it had been raised by reinforcements to 30,000, with 1,000 pieces of cannon. Sir Ralph Abercromby had not more than half this number, including the sick, and some unqualified reinforcements from Malta, and some useless followers. His effective force could not be reckoned at more than 12,000. The nation might well dread the next news from the Mediterranean. Another disappointment was not known at home, for it happened at the last moment. The Turkish ship of the line, which was to have brought aid, was dismasted by lightning. The British commanders defied not only all these fearful omens, but the warnings of the pilots, who declared, in the midst of storms EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.

1801. which appeared to warrant what they said, that it would be madness to land in Egypt before the equinox. The landing was effected on the 7th of March, under prodigious difficulties. The soldiers were crouched down in the boats, with their arms unloaded, and were exposed to the fire, of cannon first, and then of musketry, till they could land, form, load, and push on. They pushed on, at the first possible moment—the first 2,000 that landed; and up the sandy hills they went, some with fixed bayonets, some even on hands and knees, but always driving the French before them, and securing the field pieces of the enemy within the first half hour.

Landing in Egypt. *March.*

During the next fortnight, there was some fighting; and the fort of Abookeer surrendered to the British: but the 21st was the decisive day. Before it was light, the French general, Menou, attempted to surprise the British, attacked both ends of their line, and succeeded in creating some disorder. A part of his force got to the rear of the British infantry, while it was still too dark for the attacked to distinguish friend from foe. The growing dawn soon set this right, however. The French were from 12,000 to 14,000 in number, and the British 10,000. In a little while, the French were dispersed all over the field — the cavalry broken and dismounted — the infantry pelted with stones, when ammunition failed—and several hundreds who had penetrated into an inclosure which formed the nucleus of the battle were slain, almost to a man. The whole was decided before ten o'clock. The misfortune of Sir Ralph Abercromby's professional life was that he was extremely short-sighted. He felt this most in its making him dependent on the officers about him. His friends felt it also in the danger to which it exposed him on the battle field. He was always foremost in the fight: and very often in the midst of peril which the most courageous avoid by merely seeing where they are. On this day, he was surrounded by the French, in the thickest of the fight, and received first a sabre wound in the breast, and then a musket ball in the thigh. He took no notice; and several of his officers came to him for conference and went away again, without perceiving that he was wounded. It was the trickling blood which betrayed him at last. When all was secure, and the entire defeat of the French ascertained beyond doubt, the old hero sank, faint, into a hammock, and was carried to the admiral's ship, where he died on the 28th—well aware, it is hoped, of the doom of the French in Egypt. They made no effectual defence, after the battle of Abookeer; and when sea and land forces were concentrated against them—forces from Turkey, from India, from Syria, and from Great Britain—they yielded at all points: and Egypt was cleared of them about the same time that the Northern Powers were signing their pacific convention. Parliament voted a monument in St. Paul's Cathedral to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercromby; and his widow was made a

Battle of Abookeer. *March 21st.*

Journal of Sir John Moore, in Life.

Death of Sir Ralph Abercromby.

French Evacuation of Egypt. Annual Reg., 1801, Chron. 18.

peeress, with remainder to her two eldest sons, and a pension of 2000*l.* a year. 1801.

Thus was the way partly cleared for the peace which political observers were convinced, so early as the opening of the spring, that Mr. Addington was resolved on. In March, before the recovery of the King had advanced far enough to admit of his receiving Mr. Pitt's resignation, strong efforts were made to continue Mr. Pitt in office: but both he and Mr. Addington drew back from such an arrangement. Whether Mr. Pitt was too proud to return otherwise than by the entreaties of his sovereign, and Mr. Addington too well pleased with office to quit it so soon; or whether it was understood between them that the new minister should make a peace which his predecessor could not consistently propose, was the great political riddle of the day. On the 14th of March, Mr. Pitt delivered up the seals. Within a week after, elderly retired statesmen were in conference about the danger of an inglorious peace—of concessions incompatible with the national dignity—and of exciting in the people expectations of relief which could not be gratified, as any great reduction of military and naval force was a thing not to be thought of while Napoleon was still in the fulness of his pride and power. In the midst of the uncertainty, Mr. Fox was rising daily—lifted up by the heaving and panting desire of the nation for peace. We are told by Lord Malmesbury that he was "quite paramount" in parliament, and used very odd language there, hinting at parliamentary reform, and pointing out the nature of the constituency of Old Sarum—"which, in fact, consisted of an old encampment and two or three cottages." Odd language as this might appear to statesmen who in their contemplation of politics overlooked the element of the people, it appeared relevant enough to the millions of sufferers from the protraction of the war, who felt that they had not, and could not obtain, any representation of their views and interests in parliament.

MR. PITT'S RESIGNATION. Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 47.

Diaries, iv. 44.

Notices of M. Otto now occur more frequently. M. Otto was the agent of the French prisoners in England: a dangerous man in the eyes of some politicians, but nevertheless often now dining with men in office, or in the friendship of the ministers. As it became known in whispers that Lord Hawkesbury was the negotiator on the British side, and observed aloud that the Premier's spirits were rising every day, elderly politicians became more and more alarmed; for Mr. Addington was "very weak," and Lord Hawkesbury was no match for M. Otto. Throughout the summer, however, the Premier's spirits continued to rise. He was wont to call this the halcyon period of his administration. Abroad, our way was clearing in the Baltic and in Egypt. At home, he was powerfully supported, as yet, by Mr. Pitt: and his pious adulation was agreeable to the King, who commended him and visited him: and the Emperor of Russia sent him a snuff-box and compli-

ANTICIPATIONS OF PEACE.

MR. ADDINGTON.

1801. ments; and the people cried out more and more for the peace he was going to give them; and there was, at last, an abundant harvest once more. It is true, there was talk of an invasion from Boulogne: and a great display of preparation was ordered; and Nelson was sent against the French flotilla. But even Nelson did not succeed; and yet people were so little alarmed that the Duke of York could not visit the King at Weymouth, because it was so difficult to keep the officers of militia at their posts, and to convince them of danger, that he dared not absent himself for a single day. Probably every one suspected, what the government would fain have kept secret, that negotiations for peace were going on all the while, and on a footing so favourable for France, that it was not likely she should offer violence while she was on the point of obtaining what she wanted by merely asking for it. The Prince of Wales formally requested leave to expose himself in the defence of his country, and was desired to keep himself quiet: professional and commercial gentlemen punctually attended drill; and Britons sang that they never would be slaves; and foreign newspapers published all kinds of speculations as to the issue of the impending final conflict of the two great Powers of Europe; and yet the Premier expressed in letters his grief and alarm because the public were by no means alarmed enough, and were sadly underrating the power and prowess of the foe. There was, in fact, an unreality, that time, about the threat of invasion and its reception, very unlike what was felt both before and after: and the explanation was soon afforded.

Talk of Invasion.

September. Peace Negotiations. In the middle of September, Ministers were rather grave; and it was known among a few that Napoleon was saucy, and Lord Hawkesbury embarrassed. On the 29th, the Premier was in such unusual spirits, that it might be supposed that all was settled. On the 30th, one of the Ministers, conversing with an old political friend, went over all the affairs of Europe, including those of Great Britain, omitting only the subject of peace or war with France; from which his experienced friend concluded that all was settled. On the next day, the preliminaries were signed in London; and the news was imparted to the Lord Mayor; but to nobody else in London, though circulars were sent to many provincial towns. Whatever difference of opinion might be entertained about the fact of the peace, and its terms, it seems as if all reasonable men were at the time ashamed and concerned at the manner in which the fact was received. The King said as little as he could; but there is a note to Lord Eldon which shows something of his state of feeling about it. He speaks of the embarrassed situation of the kingdom from its experiment of peace with a revolutionary country; but hopes that with a large peace establishment, and the Seditious Meetings and Alien Acts, "the experiment may not be attended with all the evils that some persons expect."—Lord Eldon himself,

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 62.

Preliminaries signed, *October* 1st.

Life of Lord Eldon, i. 398. Reception by the King.

1801.

though obliged, as Chancellor, to defend the peace in the Lords, wrote miserably to his brother about the state of mind he was in from anxiety about this matter.—Mr. Windham would much have preferred invasion to this peace, even as he would take the chance of a pistol in preference to that of a dose of poison. Mr. Pitt was believed to have counselled and superintended the whole. The Premier and those of his comrades who agreed with him were in a state of childish exultation, which disgusted moderate men, who saw that the issue must for some time remain doubtful, and that there was, at best, much to regret as well as to apprehend.—As for the people, they were at first bewildered with joy, as might be expected when told to exult by those in high places who were supposed to understand the prospects of peace, without having known much of the personal privations inflicted by a state of war. The rise of Stocks, the firing of guns, processions, illuminations, and addresses, were all that the complacent Minister could have desired: but the happiness did not last so long as he could have wished. The rejoicings began on the 10th of October. On the 12th took place the ratification of the preliminaries; and on this occasion a scene was witnessed by half London which the Ministers did not hear of till it was too late to interfere, and which heartily vexed the more able and moderate among them. The agent sent over by Napoleon was Col. Lauriston, a young man of Scotch descent. The people were in a frenzy of delight, unequalled, it is said, since the Restoration of Charles II. They crowded to the house of M. Otto; and when the French officials came forth to repair to Lord Hawkesbury's office, for the purpose of signing the ratification, the crowd took out the horses, and drew the carriage through the principal streets of the West End: waited while the business was transacted, and then drew the strangers back again. Col. Lauriston gave ten guineas to the people to drink: and the sanguine believed and said that the English hatred of Frenchmen was over for ever.—So undignified an exhibition was painful enough to those who felt the terms of the peace to be humiliating to England: but far more trying was the demonstration to a little company of comrades then in London of whom nobody seems to have thought;—the French emigrants. Some of the Princes were there; and at the chapel and school at Somers Town the children of that unhappy family were taught that their adversity was only for a time; that royal ideas and feelings must be nourished and cherished in them, in perpetual expectation of their return, by the generous aid of England, to throne and palace, and the enjoyment of the devotion of the penitent French people. And now, in the midst of all this, here was the government making peace with the usurper, without a thought of Bourbon grievances; and here were the Londoners paying homage in the streets to the usurper's agents, who were conducting the business!

Life of Lord Eldon, i. 392. BY STATESMEN.

BY THE PEOPLE.

Annual Reg. 1801, p. 277.

BY THE FRENCH EMIGRANTS.

1801. To the exiles it seemed as if all hope of order and royal supremacy in the world was over; and they eagerly seized on an omen of retribution, as they considered it. A tremendous thunderstorm burst over London on the night of the illumination. The exiles, in their melancholy homes, were told what had happened at the Admiralty. The Crown and Anchor were drenched; the lights of the Crown were extinguished, while those of the Anchor shone out again.—It was more than the exiles could bear to remain in London; and they removed to Holyrood, near Edinburgh, there to solace themselves with the only hope they could now lay to their hearts. The hope was that the unquestioned dictatorship of Napoleon was a preparation for their own return, even as the Protectorate of Cromwell preceded the Restoration of the Stuarts. Charles II. could not have been recalled during the existence of the Commonwealth, nor they during the term of the French Republic. Napoleon was now their Cromwell, and they had only to watch for his downfall. They could hardly be angry with George III.; for they knew he could not help himself or them. He probably accounted for the act to them as he did to others who sympathized with him: "Do you know what I call the Peace?" he said to Lord Malmesbury: "an experimental peace; for it is nothing else. I am sure *you* think so; and perhaps you do not give it so gentle a name: but it was unavoidable. I was abandoned by everybody: allies, and all." It was with Pitt that they were most offended. He had coolly declared reasons for superintending this peace which were galling to them. He believed Napoleon to have now satisfied his vast ambition: he believed that it was the need and desire of France to be tranquil, and to enjoy her military glory, and to permit her extraordinary ruler to consolidate her power by the arts of peace. The irritated exiles had not to wait long for their triumph, as far as Mr. Pitt was concerned. Napoleon presently elected himself President of the Italian Republics, gained possession of Louisiana and the Floridas across the Atlantic, and condescended to annex to France the island of Elba in the Mediterranean: all within the space of a few weeks: so that within half a year, Mr. Pitt was prepared to acknowledge himself completely mistaken, convinced now, as he had been formerly, that Napoleon was an insatiable plunderer, and an adventurer incapable of fidelity to engagements, and in every way unworthy of reliance. To the last, Mr. Pitt defended the peace on the ground of its necessity at home; but never more on the ground of possible amity with Napoleon.

Annual Register, 1801. Chron. 278.

Diaries, iv.65.

Diaries, iv.67.

Before the meeting of Parliament, on the 29th of October, the terms of the peace had become more widely known and more calmly considered than during the first outburst of delight at the removal of the hardships of war; and the consequence was that Ministers could not meet Parliament altogether so cheerfully as

they would have done some weeks before. The result of the first debate was the rise of a New Opposition, composed of a small number in each House of men and weight, and of experience in office; the Grenvilles, Lords Fitzwilliam and Spencer, Mr. Windham, Mr. Elliott, and others. Mr. Fox rejoiced in the peace because it was necessary, and better terms could not have been obtained. Mr. Sheridan expressed a wide-spread feeling in the sentence, "This is a peace which all men are glad of, but no man can be proud of." On the whole it is evident to the reader of the debates of that autumn that, by all parties, the peace was considered a precarious one; a breathing time secured for the benefit of the people of England, and the restoration of the finances. Depressing as was this conviction, it served at once to moderate the boastings of the makers of the peace, and to subdue the lamentations of those who were grieved and ashamed at the terms of the treaty. 1801. BY PARLIAMENT.

By these terms, Great Britain gave up Egypt to the Porte, the Cape to Batavia, Malta to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and all the French colonies she had captured to France; and she acquired Ceylon in the East, and Trinidad in the West. Even these humble terms were in peril many times before the Definitive Treaty was signed. In November, Lord Cornwallis was sent over to Paris, with great state, as Ambassador Plenipotentiary. On the other side were Talleyrand and Joseph Bonaparte, for whom together, and perhaps separately, Lord Cornwallis was no match, either in vigilance or experience. He found himself treated with suspicion, and sometimes with rudeness; and it was no easy matter to sit by placidly, and witness the assumptions of Napoleon—as of the Presidency of the Italian Republics—while concluding on a peace which took for granted his quietude and moderation. Nothing but the determination at home to avoid war could have justified the prosecution of the treaty under such circumstances: but, as it was, the business came to a conclusion at last, at Amiens, whither the negotiation had been transferred from Paris. There, the respective signatures concluded the Peace of Amiens on the 27th of March, 1802. Annual Reg. 1802, pp. 94. 96. TERMS OF THE TREATY OF AMIENS. DEFINITIVE TREATY SIGNED. *Mar.* 27, 1802.

On the preceding day, the Duke of York, meeting Lord Malmesbury in the street, asked for news. "Peace, sir, in a week, and war in a month," was the reply: a reply which reached and pleased the King. At the next drawing-room, he told Lord Malmesbury that he believed the saying would prove a prophecy. Amidst the existence of such distrust, and its growing prevalence, the country could not enjoy much of the blessings of peace. The people to whom it was most essential, and who had most joyfully hailed it, felt nothing of the confidence and repose which it had promised; and few but the Minister remained smiling and complacent. In him, little change of mood was visible, for it took much to extinguish the smiles and complacency of Mr. Addington. Diaries, iv. 72.

CHAPTER III.

1801.

The Union.

NEXT to the settling of our affairs with foreign Powers, the greatest subject of anxiety to the government was the effect of the Union upon Ireland. When, on the first day of the century, the bells of the churches rang, and the Park and Tower guns were fired as the new Imperial flag was hoisted, there were other feelings than of joy in the minds of the men about the throne, though a great object appeared to have been accomplished. On that day, the King met the Chancellor to receive from him the great seal, and see it defaced, and the new Imperial seal substituted. The Privy Council were sworn in anew; and proclamation was made of the alteration in the style and title of the sovereign. The word Union was in every mouth; but that state of the Catholic question which has been already described impaired the confidence of all who knew the circumstances. No one doubted that the intimidation of the vice-regal government by the great dominant families was over; and with it, much jobbing at Dublin, and much tyranny on their own estates. No one doubted that vast internal improvements would take place, by which peace and prosperity among the people would be promoted. But the great religious quarrel was becoming more formidable than ever. By some means never explained, a paper was circulated among the Irish Catholics in the name of Mr. Pitt, in the issue of which he had no share whatever. It appears to have been made up of parts of that "Letter of Lord C———" which has been referred to, and of statements drawn up by Mr. Dundas and others, never intended for publication. The "Lord C———" was Castlereagh, but understood to be Cornwallis, the Viceroy; and the rest was attributed to Mr. Pitt. This paper set forth the views and wishes and probable conduct of the Catholics in that style of freedom which might be expected in written communications among public men of the same way of thinking; and it was wholly improper for general circulation at a time so critical. The Catholics believed their cause secure, thus advocated (as they thought) by the Prime Minister and the Viceroy; while at the same moment the Sovereign was stiffening himself immoveably against all concession whatever. The danger from the wrath of the deceived Catholics must be great: and the Union opened under the gloom of this misunderstanding.

Discontent of the Catholics.

Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, iv. 30.

This was not, however, the greatest danger, threatening as it

1801.

was. The worst discontent of Ireland at this time was not immediately connected with religious feuds. The insufferable oppressions which had caused and followed the rebellion of 1798 were resented as vehemently as ever; and those who had desired a republic before and an alliance with France, did not desire these things the less, but the more, for what had happened. The government was blind to this danger, for nearly two years after the Union; and the reason of this blindness was that the priests, who were always supposed to be all-powerful with the people, were as fiercely opposed to France under Napoleon as the Protestant clergy could have been. Napoleon had humbled the pride and restricted the power of Rome, and the Irish priesthood resented this in a style which misled the government into taking for granted the loyalty of the Irish people. Because no Catholic rebellion was brewing, statesmen supposed that all was well. It is curious now to read the correspondence which passed between the governments in London and Dublin in 1801 and 1802, and compare it with the state of the country and the needs of the people.

OF THE REPUBLICANS.

OF THE PEASANTRY.

The fertile parts of Limerick, Cork, and Kerry, and elsewhere, were separated by vast wildernesses, where no roads existed, and scarcely here and there a path. Swarms of people lived in these wilds, like rabbits in a warren. Not a plough or a cart was to be seen for many miles together; and the weed-grown mud hovels of the inhabitants could scarcely have been discerned by the stranger, though a hundred might be within reach of his eye. But few strangers ventured there. The soldiery and police could make no way; and they knew that every man's mind and hand were against them. Such districts were always the hiding-places of smugglers, thieves, and men in danger from society; and now, those who had outlawed themselves by their share in the rebellion of 1798 were harboured among the wilds. There was little commerce between the towns and the rural districts, to bind them together, and create mutual interests. The only produce of county Kerry was butter; and that was carried to Cork on horseback. The proportion of inhabitants employed upon the land was more than double that so employed in England; while the isolation of the class from the rest of the world was much greater: so that wrong ideas, once introduced among the rural multitude, were irremoveable; and the temptation to rule them as slaves or banditti was as strong to the landowners and the government, as it was to hot-blooded and sanguine patriots to make them tools. Nothing had been done to remove from the minds of this portion of the population the discontents which had exploded in rebellion two years before; and they did not know that they had any thing to do with England but to hate her. The Shannon was flowing through the midst of the island, ready to open, with a little pains, to the custom of the world, 2,000,000 of acres of fertile land; and nobody stirred to do it.

1801. The local authorities had decided and represented, in 1794, that the thing ought to be done; but nobody was stirring to do it. All that the rural inhabitants knew about England, or about society, was that it hunted down smugglers and the friends of the peasantry, and hanged or shot patriots, and set up churches here and there which the people had to pay for, but could not enter. The small manufacturing and commercial classes of that day were troubled in their own way. They had their political and religious grievances and prejudices, and their Irish temperament and rearing—all unfavourable to England.—And correspondence with the Irish exiles in France, and solicitations from the tempters sent (as seems really to have been the case) by Napoleon to stir up rebellion, in order to occupy England with a civil war, kept up a constant restlessness, excitement, and inability to acquiesce in any kind of settlement, which were, unfortunately, little understood or apprehended by the government.

Porter's Progress of the Nation, i. 26.

Temptations.

The Government.

Lord Hardwicke was the first Viceroy after the Union; and Mr. Abbott, afterwards Lord Colchester, was Chief Secretary. Lord Hardwicke arrived in Dublin in May; and for a considerable time was certainly well satisfied with the results of his government. He endeavoured to moderate violence, and keep down tyranny wherever he saw it, and to do justice impartially; and as he found the Protestants highly political, and the Catholics, for the most part, a quiet, money-getting sort of people—like the Jews or any other class under permanent political disqualification—he was naturally popular among the Catholics, and less liked by the noisy Protestants, who found themselves no longer what they were. He and the Secretary thought that while this was the case, all was well; and they were always writing home that it was so. It is surprising to read their letters now; and to observe how they endeavour to vary the expression of their assurance that all was quiet—the people satisfied and happy in the new settlement, and everything sure to come right in the shortest possible time, while insurrection was preparing in the towns, and the rural population was too barbaric to enter into the question at all. The government believed itself at leisure to occupy itself with military finances, and a system of checks upon military expenditure, and a discrimination between the offices of Lord-Lieutenant and Commander of the Forces; and a distribution of forces, in case of a possible invasion by and by: and again, with a plan for enabling the University of Dublin to print Bibles and Prayer Books; and again, with plans of greater weight—for working the mines of Ireland, and improving its inland navigation. Next, the patronage question occasioned so much disagreement, that Lord Hardwicke was on the point of resigning. Amidst the controversies and discussions on the arrangement of the executive powers and legislative business of Ireland, these rulers went on

Life of Lord Sidmouth, i. 433.

saying that all was well, and that nothing could be more rapid than the process by which the Union was producing its fruits. During this period, however, the coercion laws under which Ireland had smarted from the time of the rebellion were perpetuated: not only was the Act for the suppression of rebellion renewed in the spring of 1801, but that for the continuance of martial law. When English members of the House of Commons suggested that no country could attain a safe and wholesome condition which was under a perpetuated martial law, Irish members assured them that they did not understand Ireland: and this, again, could not tend to make the Irish in love with the English connexion. By the autumn, when peace was agreed on, the Premier was himself disposed to disuse martial law in Ireland, and to promise its removal on the signature of the Definitive treaty. 1801. Life of Lord Sidmouth, i. 483.

In 1802, it was not to be described (the Ministers said) how well every thing was going on. Not one member of parliament lost his seat in consequence of having advocated the Union; and therefore all Ireland must be satisfied with it. The effect of the presence of good soldiery from England was evident and remarkable; their discipline was admired by the people; and they seemed to spread quietness wherever they were stationed. This was probably true. In August, 1802, however, Lord Redesdale, the Irish Chancellor, wrote a letter to the Premier which indicates that the security and complacency of the vice-regal government were shaken at last. "When I first came to this country," says Lord Redesdale, "I was induced to form an opinion which I communicated to you, that it was approaching rapidly to a state of quiet. I am extremely sorry to say that I fear I have led you into an error in that respect." The letter goes on to intimate that, amidst the apparent tranquillity, there was deep disaffection among the lower orders; and that it was only the fear of consequences which kept them from breaking out into rebellion. It needs indeed only to glance at the chronicles of the time to perceive that, while the newspapers were boasting of the results of the Union, as shown already in an improvement of manufactures and commerce, which would place the Irish high among the nations, the misery of the peasantry was such as to dismay the passing traveller, and the violence of the miserable such as to terrify those who saw the glance and heard the voice in which the threats were conveyed. 1802. OPINIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT. Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 96.

From the time of the Peace of Amiens, men who had fled to France after the last rebellion began to drop back into Ireland; and there seems every reason to believe that Napoleon made use of them to excite a civil war, and afforded them aid in the attempt. An unusual number of Frenchmen was observed to have business in Ireland towards the close of 1802. They were sprinkled all over the island; and wherever they were, symptoms were observed of a secret understanding among the peasantry; and night FRENCH TAMPERING.

1802. meetings in the wilds became more frequent. An odd circumstance caught the attention of the government about the same time. The French relatives of a gentleman who died in Ireland during the war, desiring to have an attestation of the fact, sent documents to a party concerned, with instructions to authenticate them before the commercial agent of the French government in Dublin, M. Fauvelet. The reply was that, after the most careful search, no such person was to be found; and yet, M. Fauvelet was corresponding with his government in his official capacity, and dating his letters from Dublin at the time. Moreover, a letter from M. Talleyrand to Fauvelet was intercepted, desiring him to obtain, from the officers of Customs and others whom he could converse with in his commercial character, answers to a set of enclosed queries, about the military and naval forces then present; and also "to procure a plan of the ports, with the soundings and moorings, and to state the draught of water, and the wind best suited for ingress and egress." The date of this letter was November 17th, 1802.

Annual Reg. 1802, p. 196.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. p. 164.

By the close of the year, the country was agitated by rumours of a descent upon Limerick; and on the renewal of the war with France, it was felt that now, as before, Ireland was the way by which the enemy might best hope to humble England. Mr. Addington had probably no more cordial well-wisher than Napoleon; not only on account of his general feebleness, but because he was understood to remain in office as an anti-catholic Minister—as a Minister who made loyalty almost impossible to a vast majority of the Irish people. Napoleon himself however had alienated the Irish Catholics, as has been said, from the French alliance. The projected rebellion of 1803 was protestant and republican: and hence its inevitable failure. Disaffected as were millions of the Irish people, few of them put any trust in the French-Irish leaders who proposed to direct the prevalent discontent, or cared for a republican form of government. Hence the impotent character of the catastrophe, in comparison with the amount of political discontent.

During the short peace of Amiens, some of the educated Irish, among whom was Curran, went to Paris, full of sympathy for the French republicans, and expecting to witness there such a state of things as they desired to see established in Ireland. Curran, for one, was grieved to the heart at what he saw. "Never was there a scene," he wrote to his son in October, 1802, "that could furnish more to the weeping or the grinning philosopher; they might well agree that human affairs were *a sad joke*. I see it every where, and in every thing." Some few young men, however, were either not so disabused, or they hoped that they could manage things better in Ireland. Among these was one who is believed to have been admitted to consultation with Napoleon himself. The Court

Life of Curran, ii. 206.

physician at Dublin, Dr. Emmett, who was now just dead, had had two sons, who were both implicated in the rebellion of 1798. Thomas, the elder, escaped the gallows, and was now in America. Robert was under age, and was not pursued: and it was he who now saw Napoleon, and became the head of the new conspiracy. By his father's death he obtained 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.*, which he devoted to his political purpose. His papers show that a rising was organised throughout Wicklow, Wexford, and Kildare, as well as in remoter districts; and that he had reason to rely on a very extensive support. The same papers show that he was aware at times, to the full extent, of the risk he ran; and this indicates a fault in his honour which impairs the sympathy that would otherwise be commanded by the lot of one so young, so benevolent, and so ardent, cast into such times. He clandestinely obtained the affections of Curran's youngest daughter; and deservedly therefore suffered under a restless misery of mind of which the records are very touching. He thanks God for having given him a sanguine disposition; declares that to this he runs from reflection; and hopes that if he is to sink into the pit beneath his feet, it will be while he is gazing upwards at the vision of his hopes. He seems to have been so absorbed in his visions of a Platonic republic as never to have thought of the wretchedness to others that he might be creating; never to have had a moment's remorse for renewing the horrors of the preceding insurrection; never even to have considered that it was a grave offence to break up the order and security of social life, without being amply prepared to substitute something which might compensate for its temporary loss. But if he did not suffer as he ought from the pangs of conscience, he had not the peace of the calmly devoted; and it was a mistake to endeavour, as some do to this day, to make a hero of him, and to speak of him as noble. As he slept on his mattrass in the depôt where his pikes and gunpowder were stored, he was as much of a tool as they; and the deep compassion with which we regard such a picture of Robert Emmett can have in it little mixture of respect. He never breathed to Miss Curran a hint of his purposes; and it was on the eve of the outbreak that he obtained her vows.—The other leaders were a fanatic, named Russel, an old half-pay officer, who was expecting the Millennium, and desired to have a share in bringing it on; and an agitator, named Quigley, who came over from France with a full purse. Emmett agitated in Dublin; Russel in the North; and Quigley in Kildare. An outlaw, named Dwyer, who, with a band of desperate men, infested the Wicklow mountains, promised his aid to Emmett, when the enterprise should be fairly begun. When he should see the green flag floating over Dublin Castle, he would bring his men down from their mountains, and overawe the city. It was at Christmas, 1802, that Emmett came over from France; and the swearing in of the conspirators

1802.

THE EMMETTS.

PLOT.

Annual Reg., 1803, p. 303.

Edinburgh Review, xxxiii. 291.

OTHER LEADERS

1803. presently began. Some of the subordinates broke their oath, and gave information to the police as early as February: but the authorities were perplexed by the frequent changes in the plans of the conspirators, and were at last unprepared.—Lord Hardwicke thought that more mischief would be done by alarming the country than by letting a contemptible plot, as he considered this, come to a head. He satisfied himself that the North would not stir: he believed, with Lord Redesdale, that the discontented in Limerick, though formidable as banditti, were of no account as rebels: he caused a force of soldiery to be sent into Kildare, to keep order there; and he trusted to the strength of the Dublin garrison for the safety of the capital. This might be all very well; but some incidents occurred before the outbreak which should have suggested immediate vigilance.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 207.

Symptoms.

On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the French revolution, the orderly citizens of Dublin were surprised, and rather alarmed, by the strength of demonstration on the part of the populace. The bonfires were very numerous and very large; and a rabble rout, such as seldom came forth into the daylight of the principal streets, danced and sang and drank round them. These were too fair a specimen of poor Emmett's forces.—On the 16th, an explosion in the midst of the city made the windows rattle, and many hearts quake. The gunpowder in Emmett's depôt in Patrick Street had blown up. The police found pikes, and preparations for the manufacture of gunpowder. The conspirators believed that they had misled the police about how such things happened to be there; and they were confirmed in their hope by the quiescence of the government; and especially by the Viceroy remaining at his Lodge in the Park, guarded only by a sergeant and twelve men, and by the absence from town of almost every considerable member of the government. Still, it was necessary to expedite the rising; or Emmett thought so.—The French agents begged for delay, thinking the prospect desperate; but Emmett pointed out that the militia would soon be embodied; and the haymakers and reapers now thronging into the neighbourhood of Dublin, would be gone home. He did not consider that these country forces had no common interest with him. They cared for their religion, and he was Protestant. He wanted a republic; and they knew and cared nothing about such things. They might be ready for uproar; but by no means for achieving a political revolution.—One circumstance which determined the moment of rising was, that the Eve of St. James fell on a Saturday, this year. On the Eve of St. James, the people dress the graves in the church of St. James with flowers and green. Numbers would be abroad for this purpose; and numbers more because it was market-day, when wages were paid and spent. On that Saturday, the 23rd of July, the outbreak was to begin.

Hansard, i. 740.

1803.

It began: and within an hour, Emmett was a horror-struck fugitive.—In the evening, the inhabitants of St. James's Street saw some men distributing pikes among the peasantry who thronged the streets. The residents put up their shutters, and barred their doors. If any messenger went to the barracks, half a mile off, where there were 4,000 soldiers, no soldier or police appeared. Presently, at dusk, some horsemen gallopped through the principal streets; and the mob grew violent. A manufacturer, named Clarke, who employed many operatives, addressed the people on meeting them in his evening ride: but they would not listen to him; so he hastened to the Castle, to give the alarm. On returning, one of his own men brought him down from his horse by a shot, which was severe but not mortal. At this moment, a rocket was sent up, and a cannon fired; and at the signal, Emmett and his Central Committee came forth from the depôt. The leader drew his sword, and put himself at the head of the rioters, to go and take the Castle. But they would not go to the Castle, nor where they must meet the soldiery. They shot Colonel Brown, who was going to his post, cried out for plunder, mobbed the whisky shops, and proved themselves so ungovernable that Emmett and his comrades left them, and had no resource but to hide themselves among the Wicklow mountains. The rioters shot a corporal on guard at the debtor's prison, and a dragoon who was carrying a message, and an outpost of infantry, which they surprised.—One more murder they committed before they were put down.

OUTBREAK. Annual Register, 1803, 504.

At about ten o'clock, they seemed at last willing to do what their leaders had required of them at first—to attack the Castle. They formed in a column, and had passed from St. James's Street into Thomas Street, when the attention of some of them was attracted by the rapid driving of a carriage in their rear. Some knew the carriage to be that of the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Kilwarden—the best of the Irish judges—mild as he was upright. He was old; and he appears to have been so far shaken by the horrors of the preceding rebellion as to have been in constant fear of his life for the intervening five years. Till lately, he had never spent a night out of Dublin during all that time. Of late, he had gone out to his country seat, nearly four miles from Dublin, from the Saturday till Monday; and this he had done to-day. In the evening, reports arrived that an army of rebels was attacking Dublin. If he had remained quiet, all would have been well with him: but his only thought was to take refuge in Dublin. He desired his daughter, and his nephew, a clergyman, to go with him. There were two ways to the Castle, after reaching the city. If he had gone by the barracks, he would have been safe: but he decided for the shorter and more populous way by St. James' and Thomas Streets; and thus he drove into the very midst of the danger, while the inhabitants of the other route heard nothing of

LORD KILWARDEN.

1803. the riot till the next morning.—When the carriage entered St. James's Street at one end, the mob were leaving it at the other. They turned back, and seized upon the carriage. The Chief Justice declared his name, and begged for mercy: but the savages said they must kill the two gentlemen, sparing the lady. They dragged all three from the carriage, made a way through the whole length of their column for the frantic daughter to escape, and thrust their pikes through and through the bodies of the old man and his nephew, fighting with one another for precedence in the act. Miss Wolfe ran through the streets in the dark till she found herself at the Castle, where her appearance told the tale, frightfully enough. The military quickened their movements, and by half-past ten were down upon the insurgents, who were dispersed without a struggle. Lord Kilwarden still breathed; and he lived half an hour longer. Mr. Wolfe lay dead, some yards from the spot where the carriage was stopped. Some one said, within the hearing of the dying man, that the assassins should be executed the next day; on which, the upright Judge exerted himself to speak once more. "Murder must be punished," he said: "but let no man suffer for my death but on a fair trial, and by the laws of his country."

Results. The number of lives lost otherwise than by murder does not appear to have been ascertained:—nearly twenty, it is said, of soldiers and volunteers, and probably about fifty of the insurgents. An escaped prisoner of the rebels, who had been shut up in the depôt after the explosion, showed the way; and the lane leading to it was found strewed with pikes. Within, were stores of ball cartridges, hand grenades, powder, some uniforms, and a batch of printed sheets, wet from the press, which bore the proclamation of the Provisional Government; of those lost men who were now pressing on towards the Wicklow mountains, to hide themselves from pursuit. These ill-judging leaders pretended in their wandering to be French officers; and the consequence was that the Catholic peasantry, who hated the French for the Pope's sake, would have nothing to say to them. Poor Emmett might have escaped by sea, but he could not go till he had once more seen Sarah Curran. He stole back into Dublin, and was apprehended near her residence. It was not till now that her afflicted father knew of the attachment. In letters, written immediately before his execution, Emmett acknowledged his misconduct in regard to the Currans. He met his death with composure. His epitaph is known to all as Moore's mournful song, "O! breathe not his name." Sarah Curran died of lingering heart-break. Most of the leaders of the enterprise were apprehended, and some hanged. Russel was executed. Quigley was exiled, after making a full confession.

Annual Reg., 1803, p. 308.

Life of Curran, ii. 235, 238.

This rebellion is sometimes called insignificant; or it is said to be rendered important only by the murder of Lord Kilwarden. But

the truest and most intelligent friends of Ireland saw the matter very differently; and the survivors of them hold their opinion to this day. This outbreak disclosed (by means of the documents that were seized in consequence) an amount and extent of Irish discontent of which the most clear-sighted had before been unaware. The outbreak rudely checked the course of improvement which had obviously made a fair start after the Union; and the event and the documents together brought on a new series of Coercion Acts, under which few of the objects of the Union could go forward at all. 1803.

COERCION. Annual Reg., 1803, Chron. 414.

On the 28th of June—at the earliest moment, in those days of a slow post—the King sent down a message to parliament, notifying that insurrection had again appeared in Ireland, and expressing his reliance that parliament would take measures for protecting the innocent, and restoring tranquillity. Two bills were immediately brought into the Commons: one for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus in Ireland, and the other for enabling the Viceroy to try the prisoners by martial law. Both bills were passed through all their stages in the Commons before ten o'clock the same night; and in the Lords before eleven; the standing orders, which would have caused delay, being suspended in consideration of the emergency. When parliament reassembled on the 22nd of November, the royal Speech announced that the Irish conspirators had been brought to justice; and one of the earliest acts of the session was to renew the term of operation of the coercion bills of July. Year after year was the coercion continued; and mournful was the state of the unhappy country where all was to have gone on well after the Union.—In 1803, Lord Redesdale, the Chancellor, wrote letters to Lord Fingall, about the Catholics, which by some means became public in January, 1804. In these letters were contained insults to the Catholic body, doubts of the loyalty of the most eminent Catholic gentlemen, and prejudices on the whole subject so injurious as to cause shame among friends of the government that the second functionary in Ireland should so feel and so speak about the great majority of the population of the island: and at a moment, too, when, in consideration of the anxieties of the State, the leading Catholics had declined to urge their claims at present. The popular exasperation was naturally strong. The Catholic question, before in abeyance, was revived in full force; and it required all the popularity of Lord Hardwicke, and all the efforts of the Catholic leaders, to secure the quietness of the public meetings held throughout 1804.

Hansard, i. 2.

Hansard, ii. 151. CATHOLICS STIRRED UP.

1804.

Then ensued grievous distress to all classes from the disappearance of the metallic currency. The Bank Restriction Act of 1797 had extended to Ireland; but there was not, as in England, any supervision of the issues of the Bank, or any check to private banking. The insecure state of the country caused a hoarding of the metals, at the very time that the island was flooded with paper money. Country banks gave out notes down to the value of half-a-crown:

CURRENCY TROUBLES.

1804. a spurious coinage of flat morsels of silver was current for a time: but it was suddenly refused at the post-office, and other government offices; and then tradesmen would not take it. The perplexity and distress of the people were extreme; and military guards were set on the bakers' shops, and other places of trade. Before the public peace was fatally broken, government provided a costly supply of dollars and halfpence in rolls, and authorized silversmiths to issue silver tokens, and opened an office for the reception of depreciated money. At the same time, employers paid their workmen by orders on the baker or other tradesmen. Riot was thus obviated, though very barely: but the manufacturing and commercial, and other social progress hoped for from the Union, was grievously retarded.

Annual Reg., 1804, p. 150.

Hansard, iv. 599.

1805. In 1805, the continued suspension of the Habeas Corpus in Ireland was resolved on by large majorities in parliament, though the tranquillity of the country was declared to be still on the increase under Lord Hardwicke.

Hil. 336, 534.

1806. In 1806, when parliament had again rejected the petitions of the Catholics, and France was threatening, and all was going ill on the Continent, there was serious fear that Ireland would make common cause with France. But she had obtained a ruler as mild as Lord Hardwicke, and yet more favouring to the mortified classes of the Irish people, in the Duke of Bedford, who, by a change of ministry, became Lord Lieutenant. When a wild outlaw force committed ravage in the north, at the end of 1806, under the name of Threshers, the Viceroy repelled all solicitations to obtain and use Insurrection Acts. He declared his belief that the existing law, properly administered, would suffice for the protection of society; and he proved that, in that case, it was so. He did what one man could do: but Mr. Pitt had died without seeing the Catholics righted. He left them sullen and discouraged; more ready to ask than he to answer how far his expectations of salvation to Ireland from the Union had been accomplished. No one could say that Ireland would not have been more wretched without the Union: but neither could it be pretended that it had proved a cure for her woes.

Duke of Bedford Viceroy.

Annual Reg., 806, p. 263.

CHAPTER IV.

IT has already appeared that the first wild rejoicings at the promise of Peace gave way to misgivings before the treaty was actually concluded. Men in high places never had much hope of a lasting peace with Napoleon: and when their doubts were necessarily manifested by their public acts, men in low places were at first exasperated, and then alarmed. Soldiers had expected to be sent to their homes, and never to leave them more: sailors in all distant ports had watched for the signal to weigh for England; merchants and tradesmen had calculated on the remission of war taxes; and the labouring classes hoped they had heard the last of press-gangs, and recruiting parties, and balloting for the militia: and when disappointment followed immediately on the announcement of peace, there was so much anger and fear, that it did not appear as if the national happiness had as yet gained much. The people were told to wait till the Definitive Treaty was signed; and then, month after month passed on, and no news came of the conclusion of the business, while reports arose, almost every week, of impediments and misunderstandings abroad, and want of cordiality among statesmen at home, which made the future as doubtful as ever.—On the 16th of November, 1801, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, announced to Parliament that it was thought necessary to continue, for three months longer, the military and naval establishments of the preceding year; for which purpose upwards of eight millions would be required. The amount was to be raised by means of the land and malt taxes, and a fresh issue of Exchequer bills. The militia force was to remain at 36,000, till the Treaty was signed. In expectation of this event, parliament adjourned from week to week, till the winter holidays were over; and this method increased the suspense. News arrived that a considerable French fleet had collected, and had shipped 25,000 troops. It was declared that this fleet was only going to bring to order the island of St. Domingo: but prudence required that such a force should be watched; and a British fleet collected in Bantry Bay for the purpose, was ordered off to the West Indies, to the blank dismay of the sailors. They asked what the peace was for, if not to send soldiers and sailors home; and they refused to go anywhere but to England. A great impression was made on the minds of the poor fellows by their admiral's (Admiral Mitchell's) reply when the noise of the mutiny brought him on deck of the Temeraire, to

1801-3

PRECARIOUSNESS OF THE PEACE.

1802.

BANTRY BAY MUTINY.

1801-3. know what was the matter. The Captain told him that the men wanted to know where the ship was going; when he replied, "To hell, if she is ordered; and we must go with her." The mutineers were tried at Portsmouth; and when their doom was pronounced, one of them humbly and sorrowfully acknowledged the justice of his sentence; and the others solemnly exclaimed, "Amen!" Twenty of the mutineers were found guilty, and eleven were hanged, in the midst of the preparations for departure to the West Indies.

Annual Reg., 1802, App. 554.

Signature of the Treaty.

When expectation was almost worn out, in April, the news came at last: and the illuminations and other rejoicings were renewed. The popular jealousy of France seems to have been as strong as ever, judging by what took place before the house of the French Minister, M. Otto, on the night of the illuminations. The word Concord was exhibited in coloured lamps over the door; and the mob, reading this "Conquered," began to riot, in resentment for any Frenchman saying that Britons were conquered. Moreover, the G. R. was not surmounted by a crown, as usual; and England was not to be supposed republican: so M. Otto bestirred himself to give orders; and presently, the crown appeared, and the word Amity was substituted for Concord. — The income tax was relinquished by the minister in the same month.—The last stroke was put to the convention with the Northern Powers; and the people had by this time been told that the expense of the armistice had been 1,000,000*l.* per week.—The disbanding of the militia and fencible troops took place, and that of the regulars was soon to follow: the Secretary at War declared the peace establishment to consist of 121,400 soldiers, which was presently announced to be reduced to little more than 70,000: and in June, it was made known that the French government had at length chosen an ambassador to be sent to London, to begin the new era of peace. The ambassador, M. Andréossi, did not, however, arrive till November, nearly thirteen months after the signing of the preliminaries: and meantime, affairs had assumed an aspect which made the public regard this arrival as nothing better than a symptom of hope that peace might possibly be preserved.

Annual Reg., 1802, p. 181.

Foreign Travel.

One of the most important effects of the peace was that it opened opportunities of foreign travel to Englishmen, and permitted an influx of new ideas, and an enlargement of intellect and sentiment, more wanted then than it is now easy to conceive. The elderly people of our time can scarcely believe now that they ever thought and felt as they were brought up to think and feel about foreigners and their respective countries, and about art and literature, and every subject on which we have now for above thirty years freely communicated with continental nations. We find, in the letters and diaries of fifty years ago, complacent notices of the good effects looked for from the new fancy of the opulent classes for seeing the beauties of our own island. "Am I too sanguine,"

writes Francis Horner in 1800, "or am I even correct, in fancying that some good effects may result from a fashion which carries the Edinburgh citizen to the Lakes of Westmoreland, and brings the London citizen to the Falls of the Clyde?" After the peace, the "fashion" grew more earnest. On the day of the proclamation of peace, April 29th, official notice was given at the ports of the kingdom, that his Majesty's license was no longer necessary to enable British subjects to go to the countries of the Continent. By September, the number of English in Paris had risen to 12,000: and greatly was the public press scandalized at the fact, and at being compelled to admit it; so ashamed were the insular moralists of the day at the curiosity of their countrymen which could lead them into the midst of the profanity and indecency of foreign capitals. Such were the notions of the stay-at-home people of fifty years since: and the 12,000 tourists were, for some time after their return, regarded with mingled envy, admiration, and fear, as having ventured upon a very pleasant act of moral rashness. When some, lingering too long, to enjoy a little more, were caught like the moth in the candle, they were less pitied than blamed, as scorched moths are wont to be. When war broke out again, and they were made prisoners in France, the virtuous at home said it served them right for having left their country, which contained everything that was good, and gone to look at whatever was naughty. But the people at home were presently the better for the travels of those who got back safely. They saw those who had seen Rome, and could tell what it was to approach the Eternal City. They heard from those who had been no further than Paris of the statues and pictures which had been brought there from Italy, and of the new ideas to which the study of them had given rise. Short as was the peace, all who lived among the educated classes in London, and in the chief provincial towns, felt as if some ventilation of English intelligence had taken place; as if some warm breeze from a sunnier climate had entered, to whiff away for the hour some fogs of insular prejudice, and enable the children of the soil to catch a far glimpse of those Alpine summits of art which they could not approach, and must presently lose sight of again.

1801-3.

Memoirs, i. 120.

Annual Reg., 1802, 396.

Parliament was dissolved at the end of June, in order that the utmost freshness might be imparted to public transactions on the incoming of a new period. The royal Speech breathed confidence in the national resources, emphatic approbation of the parliament which had sat for two sessions, and recommendations to cultivate the advantages of peace. Mr. Pitt was, in his private conversation, as sanguine as ever; saying to Lord Malmesbury, that "we had a revenue equal to all Europe, a navy superior to all Europe, and a commerce as great as that of all Europe—and, he added, laughingly, to make us quite gentlemen, a debt as large as that of all Europe; and that if with these means we acted wisely, with a just mixture

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

Annual Reg., 1802, 605.

Diaries, iv. 151.

1801-3. of spirit and forbearance, and could protract" (defer) "the evil of war for a few years, war would be an evil much less felt." Men were, however, beginning already to doubt the "spirit" with which our affairs would be conducted; and to feel that France was requiring a "forbearance" which no fear of the "evil of war" could long sustain. There was so large an infusion of new members into the Commons—no less than 184—that no one could be sure what the temper of the House would prove to be; but, at the close of the elections, the funds were low, and an acknowledged apprehensiveness was abroad, which boded the renewal of war. Confidence was not improved by the Premier's declaration, on the 24th of November, in the debate on the Address, that the large armaments twice prepared within a few months were not owing to any danger of a rupture with France, but only "as a means of security, best calculated to preserve the blessings of peace."

Doubts and Troubles. Annual Reg., 1802, 467.

In the Court Calendar, prepared for the coming year, Napoleon was, for the first time, found in the list of the sovereigns of Europe; and it was stated that he "began to reign" on the 15th of December, 1799. As he was jealously watching public opinion in England in relation to himself, this was probably gratifying to him; but his wrath against our press, and his expression of it, were now rising to a point which seemed to render "forbearance" scarcely possible. In August, the Moniteur had begun a series of articles against the English press with which Napoleon soon implicated himself. Before the end of the month, he had forbidden the circulation of English newspapers in France, and had sent the police to all *cafés* and reading-rooms, to seize such copies as they could find. In November, just while Mr. Addington was assuring parliament and the country that there was no danger of a rupture with France, the Government journal was assuring the world that, as regarded England, "France would remain in the attitude in which the Athenians placed Minerva, her helmet on her head, and her lance in her hand." The First Consul had some advantages over Great Britain, and he made the most of them. The Knights of St. John could not manage their affairs at Malta, nor provide a garrison out of their reduced numbers: and the British garrison was not withdrawn at the end of three months from the conclusion of peace, as agreed in the Amiens Treaty, because the real rights of the Order of Malta were not yet ascertained; and if the English withdrew, the French would immediately enter. Again, the British government interfered with French aggression upon Switzerland;—interfered abortively; and thus invited insult. Again, the exiles of the old *régime* were received and comforted in England; and by his complaints about this, it would appear that Napoleon was really afraid of them. While all this bluster was going on, the Prime Minister in London was showing himself so weak that men felt that a crisis must be approaching. He ex-

Ib., 471.

Ib., 440.

Weakness of the Premier.

hibited a Budget which made his supporters ashamed, as soon as its errors were pointed out. He was delighted at the accession of Mr. Sheridan to his party, while that unprincipled wit was "quizzing" him daily, every where except when offering adulation in *tête-à-têtes*: and, at the same time, Mr. Addington could with difficulty be made to see that he had lost the support of Mr. Pitt, without which his administration must presently appear as incapable as himself. By this time, the whole powerful coterie of Mr. Pitt's friends, including the Duke of York, were engaged in "the game" as Mr. Canning called it, of restoring Pitt to office, as the only hope of saving the country, whenever that war should break out which they perceived to be inevitable. Single incidents may characterize statesmanship as thoroughly as a course of policy; and we meet with one at this time which manifests Mr. Addington's mind, and justifies the disgust of his opponents, quite as effectually as the Amiens treaty itself. While he was exhibiting a dishonest budget, and sympathizing with the burdened people, and coaxing them to bear new taxes by promises of a peace which he could not preserve, he conferred a sinecure of nearly 3000*l.* a year on his own son, then a boy at school. As for the way in which it was done, it was thus. Mr. Addington's tutor, Dr. Goodenough, appears pre-eminent in adulation among a set of singularly obsequious correspondents of the Prime Minister. During this year, the Prime Minister made his obsequious tutor Dean of Rochester. The sentimental letter of thanks which the new Dean wrote ends thus:—"Excuse me for adding one other word. I understand that Colonel Barré, Clerk of the Pells, is in a very precarious state. I hope you will have the fortitude to nominate Harry to be his successor." This was a kind of fortitude that was not out of Mr. Addington's reach. As his biographer tells us, "Mr. Addington *did* nominate his son to the vacant clerkship." Master Harry, then at Winchester school, became an office-holder to the amount of nearly 3000*l.* a year; and alas! Mr. Pitt is found "rejoicing most sincerely" that the Pells are so disposed of.

1801-3.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, i. 498.

Mr. Addington was wont to say in after years that the ink was scarcely dry, after the signature of the treaty of Amiens, when discontents arose which perilled the new peace. On the 24th of May, M. Otto told Lord Glenbervie that if the English press were not controlled from censuring Napoleon, there must be a war to the death: and in the course of the summer, six requisitions were formally made to the British government, the purport of which was that the press must be controlled; the royal emigrants sent to Warsaw; the island of Jersey cleared of persons disaffected to the French government; and all Frenchmen dismissed from Great Britain who wore the decorations of the old monarchy. The reply was, that the press was free in England; and that if any of the

ii. 153.

ii. 154.

FRENCH REQUISITIONS.

1801-3. emigrants broke the laws, they should be punished; but that otherwise they could not be molested. The government, however, used its influence in remonstrance with the editors of newspapers which were abusive of the French. Cobbett was pointed out by name by Napoleon, as a libeller who must be punished; and Peltier, a royalist emigrant, who had published some incentives to the assassination of the French ruler, or prophecies which might at such a crisis be fairly regarded as incentives. M. Peltier's object was to use his knowledge of the tools of Napoleon, and his great political and literary experience, in laying bare the character and policy of Napoleon; and he began, in the summer of 1802, a journal, the first number of which occasioned the demand for his punishment. He was prosecuted by the Attorney-General, and defended by Sir James Mackintosh, in a speech which was translated into nearly all the languages of Europe, and universally considered one of the most prodigious efforts of oratory ever listened to in any age. The Attorney-General, Mr. Percival, declared in Court, that he could hardly hope for an impartial decision from a jury whose faculties had been so roused, dazzled, and charmed; and it remains a matter of surprise, and not less of satisfaction, that amidst the popular prejudice against Napoleon, the popular sympathy with the emigrants, and the English enthusiasm for the liberty of the press, the jury should have seen their duty in this case. M. Peltier was found guilty; but the Attorney-General did not call for judgment on the instant. War was then—at the close of February—imminent; and the matter was dropped. M. Peltier was regarded as a martyr, and, as far as public opinion went, was rather rewarded than punished in England. He was wont to say that he was tried in England and punished in France. His property was confiscated by the Consular agents; and his only near relations, his aged father and his sister, died at Nantes, through terror at his trial.

Peltier.

Life of Mackintosh, i. 182.

Annual Reg. 1803, p. 231.

French Aggressions.

By this time, the merchants of Great Britain were thoroughly disgusted with France. Not only had Napoleon prevented all commercial intercourse between the nations throughout the year, but he had begun to confiscate English merchant vessels, driven by stress of weather into his ports. By this time, too, the Minister's mind was made up as to the impossibility of avoiding war. His biographer tells us that his desire through life was to be "peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated:" but that in October, "even his sanguine mind was not wholly divested of anxiety." His own account of the matter was (in a conversation with Lord Malmesbury on the 19th of February), that his intention had been to bear all obloquy at home, all taunts about being too forbearing, in the certainty that France would presently fill the cup of offence to overflowing; and that thus Great Britain would enter upon the new war with a single mind and a resolute heart. He had passed

Diaries, iv. 213, 214.

over all acts of mere petulance and vulgar spite, and had waited till insult was coupled with hostility, or with hostile declarations, before he moved. That time he felt to be now come. 1801-3.

It was indeed. Napoleon had published a Report of an official agent of his, Sebastiani, who had explored the Levant, striving as he went to rouse the Mediterranean States to a desertion of England and an alliance with France. He reported of the British force at Alexandria, and of the means of attack and defence there; and his employer put forth this statement in the 'Moniteur,' his own paper, while complaining of the insults of the English press towards himself. Our Ambassador at Paris, Lord Whitworth, desired an explanation: and the reception of his demand by the First Consul and his Minister was characteristic. M. Talleyrand smiled at the youthful ardour, military predilections, and intemperate patriotism of Sebastiani, declared "upon his honour" that Sebastiani's mission was a purely commercial one, and that whatever he had learned about the British force at Alexandria and elsewhere was for his own amusement, and not at the bidding of the government: and it was this same Talleyrand who had, a few weeks before, sent that letter to Fauvelet in Dublin which we have mentioned as having been intercepted during the progress of Emmett's conspiracy. For some time, Napoleon's temper had been growing so fierce that his servants stood in dread of him; and foreigners who visited him thought him actually mad. His conduct on this occasion was more like that of Paul of Russia than that of his own wily Minister, who thought to have given him his cue. Andréossi, in London, talked like Talleyrand; gave the same account of Sebastiani's Report; declared that France *could* not go to war; that her army were half Jacobins; that the nation would not have war; and that Napoleon's objects were purely commercial. Andréossi said these things in London on the 23rd of February, little imagining what shame his master had been casting on such hypocrisy five days before in Paris, by means of a fit of passion. He sent for Lord Whitworth to wait on him at nine in the morning of the 18th; made him sit down; and then poured out his wrath "in the style of an Italian bully," as the record has it: and the term is not too strong; for he would not allow Lord Whitworth to speak. The first impression was, that it was his design to terrify England: but Talleyrand's anxiety to smooth matters afterwards, and to explain away what his master had said, show that the ebullition was one of mere temper. And this was presently confirmed by his behaviour to Lord Whitworth at a levee, when the saloon was crowded with foreign ambassadors and their suites, as well as with French courtiers. The whole scene was set forth in the newspapers of every country. Napoleon walked about, transported with passion: asked Lord Whitworth if he did not know that a terrible storm had arisen between the two

1803.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 200.

iv. 207.

iv. 221

iv. 222.

Annual Register, 1803, 376.

1801-3. governments; declared that England was a violator of treaties; took to witness the foreigners present that if England did not immediately surrender Malta, war was declared; and condescended to appeal to them whether the right was not on his side: and, when Lord Whitworth would have replied, silenced him by a gesture, and observed that, Lady Whitworth being out of health, her native air would be of service to her; and she should have it, sooner than she expected.—After this, there could be little hope of peace in the most sanguine mind: and the King's message to parliament on the 8th of March (unknown to Napoleon when he thus committed himself), told the nation what to expect. France had in February resolved "to keep on foot 500,000 men, to undertake its defence, and avenge its injuries." On this 8th of March, the King of England informed his parliament that though all hope of peace was not relinquished, the armaments going on in the ports of France and Holland must be taken as suggestions of preparations for defence in Great Britain. It afterwards became clear that these armaments were really what they pretended to be—designed for action in the West Indies—for the reduction of St. Domingo: but there were grounds enough for proceeding to arm, without this; and the response of parliament to the King's suggestions was as hearty as he could desire. They voted an addition of 10,000 to the naval force of the country, and the calling out of the militia.

King's Message.

Annual Register, 1803, p. 646.

Interval.

For some weeks after this, there seemed to be a lull. Napoleon was believed to have given orders to his agents to temporize, to gain time, while it appears to be established that he repeatedly said to those about him that so many factions were opposed to him that there was no chance of internal peace but by making war with England. The English public grew discontented with the slowness of the Ministry. The blame was laid on Lord Hawkesbury's feebleness; and the King sent for Mr. Addington to complain of Lord Hawkesbury's delays, and of his inattention in not duly reporting progress to his sovereign. More was doing, however, than the world was aware of. Negotiations were offered for Mr. Pitt's return to power. Pitt's friends grew more restless every day in the prospect of a war, to be conducted by an incapable Ministry; and it is evident that Mr. Addington, with all his complacency, was uneasy under Pitt's silence, and absence at Bath, and obvious slackening of support. It was clearly Addington who made the first move. For some weeks, Pitt appeared to his friends mysterious, unaccountable, and distressingly reserved. He was, in fact, resolved not to be indiscreet this time; but to leave all that he could (and disclosure among the rest) to the King. The negotiation failed because Mr. Pitt considered the talents of the Grenvilles indispensable to the service of the country, at such a time; and the existing Ministry would not hear of admitting them. Pitt and Addington were separated further than before by this

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 248.

Negotiation with Mr. Pitt.

business. Their accounts of what took place do not agree; and certainly, the inclination of those who read or heard the respective narratives was to trust Mr. Pitt's clearness of head and accuracy of statement, rather than Mr. Addington's. They could not, for instance, in the face of Mr. Pitt's whole conduct during the winter, credit Mr. Addington's opening assertion, that the first move was Mr. Pitt's. From the King's extraordinary notions of Mr. Pitt's insolence in regard to himself as well as others, it appears that Mr. Addington had prejudiced the mind of his sovereign. No one, indeed, should be held responsible for the extravagances of that infirm mind: but it is evident that in reporting Mr. Pitt's wish to introduce the Grenvilles, the Minister had so told the story as to make the King fancy Mr. Pitt a dangerous liberal. The King charged him with wanting to put the crown in commission; and with "carrying his plan of removals so extremely far and so high, that it might reach *him*." When Mr. Addington was compelled by pressure from Mr. Pitt's friends to lay the letters before the King, he appears to have done that in his own way too; for the King told Lord Pelham, "I have now got the written documents; but I will not read them, nor even take any notice of them." It was no great punishment to any reasonable man to be spared from serving such a master: but it was a serious matter to the country to be in the hands of his small-minded and smooth Minister: and some statesmen, less unbending than Pitt, lamented that he did not come in under Addington's terms, in full assurance that in a short time he would have every thing in his own hands. But Pitt was not the man to do this. The Duke of York thought both parties in the wrong, and lamented that the transaction had placed Pitt further from power than ever; and this lamentation was echoed far and wide, in the alarm of renewed war. The negotiation and explanations continued throughout April; and it was the more easily done for the absence of parliament during the Easter recess.

1801-3.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 181, 187.

iv. 190.

On the 4th of May, the naval preparations of England were discussed in parliament; and a shock was given to public confidence, at present of such serious importance, by an instance of Mr. Addington's weakness. In December, he had said in parliament that fifty sail of the line could be prepared for sea within one month; and more, if necessary. Now, after five months' interval, and two months after the royal summons to make ready, he admitted that the country had only thirty-two ships in commission, not fit for sea; and that when he spoke of fifty, he meant, not that they would be manned and ready for sea, but rigged and fitted out. What the national feeling was from this date, and earlier, about the state of the navy, we shall soon have occasion to see: meantime, it did no service to the Ministry that some of its adherents mocked at the naval force of France, instead of being able to give a good account of our own.

NAVAL PREPARATIONS.

Annual Register, 1803, p. 126.

1801-3. In the midst of the excitement of this subject, a sudden check to the national apprehension occurred. The morning after this debate, between eight and nine o'clock, a man dressed like a government messenger arrived in vast haste at the Mansion House, bearing a letter, with a huge seal, addressed to the Lord Mayor of London. The seal looked official, and the letter purported to be from Lord Hawkesbury, the Foreign Secretary. It declared that all differences between Great Britain and France were settled, and that the terms of continued peace were decided on. The usual forms of official communications were so exactly preserved that the Lord Mayor never for a moment suspected any thing wrong. The news was spread by printed notices posted round the Custom House, declaring the embargo to be taken off certain ships: the funds rose five per cent.; and the City was uproarious with joy: so that, at last, the news reached the ears of the Ministers. It was about noon when a true messenger arrived to declare the whole a hoax. The people's faces fell; the funds were down immediately; and the Stock Exchange was closed, the Committee resolving that all the transactions of that morning were void. It was a fraud on the Stock Exchange, vexatious enough in every way; but especially impressive by showing how strong was still the popular longing for peace.

Hoax on London. Annual Reg. 1803, 127,385.

War Declared.

In a few days, all was settled. Lord Whitworth left Paris on the 12th of May; and at Dover met General Andréossi, on his way to Paris. On the 16th, it became publicly known that war was declared: and on the same day Admiral Cornwallis received telegraphic orders which caused him to appear before Brest on the 18th. On the 17th, an Order in Council, directing reprisals, was issued; and with it the proclamation of an embargo being laid on all French and Dutch ships in British ports. The naval bounty of five pounds per man was offered on the same day: and death denounced against every sailor found on board the enemy's fleet

Annual Reg., 1803, 388.

On the next day, May 18th, 1803, the Declaration of War was laid before parliament, and the feverish state, called peace, which had lasted for one year and sixteen days, passed into one of open hostility.

Holland.

The reason why the vessels of the Dutch were to be seized with those of the French was that Napoleon had filled Holland with French troops, and was virtually master of the country, giving occasion to the inhabitants to suppose that he intended to annex it to France. English manufactures were strictly prohibited; and the whole force of Dutch soldiery was employed as a Custom-house guard.

Position of Ministers. Annual Reg. 1803, 650.

An attempt was made to displace the Administration by means of Resolutions brought forward in both Houses of Parliament, alleging concealment from parliament of important information, and disingenuous and weak conduct about the fulfilment of the terms of the treaty. The debates were long and extremely interesting.

That in the Commons was rendered exciting by Mr. Pitt's taking part in it, while Mr. Fox and his party retired without voting. Mr. Fox had gone too far in praising Mr. Addington's pacific tendencies to vote censure upon him now, though he could not but agree that much censure was deserved: and Mr. Pitt had been the superintending influence of the Ministry when it was first formed, though he had for some time withdrawn himself visibly from such responsibility. Neither of these statesmen could vote either way upon the condemnatory Resolutions. So Mr. Fox left the House; and Mr. Pitt showed the peril of inducting a set of fresh men at such a crisis, and moved the consideration of the orders of the day. Ministers could not rest under an uncertainty; they pressed for a decision on the Resolutions, and obtained it. Mr. Canning and other friends of Mr. Pitt voted against the Administration: but it was retained in office by a large majority. In truth the way to power was not clear enough, for any man or any party, to justify the displacing, at that moment, of any existing government, on the ground of misconduct which could not now be helped. The thing to be done was to provide for the vigorous prosecution of the war. The King was not backward in showing his humour at this crisis. "The King has two favourites," writes Francis Horner, at this time; "two favourites; the War and the Doctor" (Addington). "But the Doctor has at present the preference; and even the war would be given up for him." His majesty was writing sentimental and confused notes to his minister. He received Lord Grenville's sister so rudely at Court, that none of the ladies of that family attended the birth-day in June: and he passed Mr. Pitt in the park without notice. Thus, Mr. Addington had the whole business to himself; and was now to show how he could govern the country, and conduct the defence of the empire. 1801-3. Memoirs, i. 221.

He was not practically opposed about the financial part of his plans. He brought forward his Budget on the 13th of June. He proposed to raise six millions of war-taxes by increased customs and excise duties; these additional taxes to cease six months after the conclusion of a peace. The Livery of London met to offer generous support, trusting that it might be in some other form than an unequal Income-tax: but a modified Property-tax was presently imposed. The Common Council of London immediately resolved to raise and equip 800 men. Meetings were held in towns and parishes on every hand, to pass patriotic resolutions, and agree on methods of defence. At the anniversary dinners of public charities "Tyrtæan songs" were sung, which intoxicated the company more than their wine. Princes of the Blood, lawyers from the Inns, bankers, and country gentlemen, as well as tradesmen, entered themselves as Volunteers, and drilled indefatigably, twice or oftener in the day. The subscribers to Lloyd's instituted a fund for the relief of the wounded, the solace of the maimed and PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

1801-3. bereaved, and the reward of the eminently brave. The merchants, bankers, and traders of London issued a Declaration, written by Mackintosh, which stirred up a fine spirit in the country. They declared that the coming contest was a struggle for national existence; for civilization against brute force; for all that Englishmen hold dear against all that they most hate; and they pledged themselves to exert all their powers to rouse the country to its defence, and to be ready with their services of every sort, on every occasion. The walls were placarded with speeches from King John and Henry Vth, and even Rolla's speech, signed by Sheridan. The stories of the invasion of Greece by Persia, of Holland by Louis XIV., and of England by Philip of Spain, were told from end to end of the country, and the memory of Queen Elizabeth became the enthusiasm of the day. In the London alehouses, the police spies declared, the spirit was good; and along the coast, the inhabitants showed themselves to be awake and devoted. At such a time, the people at each point of the coast are certain that theirs is the spot on which the descent will be made; and the play of passions and prejudices is seen to great advantage during a period like the summer of 1803. In some cities near the coast, the Pittites were in alarming doubt about the Foxites. As even Foxites had domestic affections, to them was appointed the task of arranging for the removal of the women and children, on the first signal of the approach of the French. They were to number waggons, and bespeak horses, and appoint places of meeting, and maintain clear roads, while the loyal kept watch on the cliffs, and drilled, and set guards on the cathedrals, lest the Dissenters should take the opportunity to burn them down. An English nunnery in Dorsetshire was searched by a clerical Justice of the peace and his neighbours, in July, in the expectation of finding hidden there, not only arms and ammunition, but a brother of Napoleon. The foreigner was looked for in every closet, and corner of the cellar. The abbess reminded the Justice that, while the sisters were catholics, they were Englishwomen, as averse to foreign invasion as their neighbours.—The very accidents of the time show the spirit of the time. In practising street-firing with cartridge, a volunteer wounds his officer. The Law Association, in Temple Gardens, charging with the bayonet, stumble, and one bayonet breaks in the ground, and another pierces a coat. A gentleman kills himself, and knocks down others, by firing a musket with six cartridges in it. The fashions of the time smack of war. The drill dress of the University students is immortalized in the chronicles of the year—blue jacket, black gaiters, and all.—The reviews and presentations of colours were a fine spectacle, that summer and autumn. The most animating was the Royal review of the Volunteers in Hyde Park in October; and a nobler spectacle can hardly have been seen in our country, for a thousand years. It was wholly unlike

Annual Reg. 1803, 418.

an ordinary military review. The sovereign here met his armed citizens of London, to see how fit they were for the defence of their homes and their national institutions. The old King conducted himself with sobriety and dignity, and looked kingly on his charger. The Duke of York, the Commander-in-Chief, met him on the ground; and the Queen and her other children attended him. All the houses within view were crowded to the chimney-tops. Amidst the sunshine, and the martial music, and the cheers of the crowd, there was a deep solemnity pervading the whole celebration.—Such incidents as have been related show how great was the support on which the Minister might rely. 1801-3.

The eldest of the princes was not present at the great review: he had gone down to Brighton to avoid it: but he was not therefore inactive. The Prince of Wales had begged to be a volunteer, or to have high military rank, like his brothers, fearing that, as colonel of his regiment, he should be placed far from the scene of conflict, if the country should be actually invaded. But it was not thought fit that the heir-apparent should be subjected to danger, in a post which could as well be filled by any other man. He was in a sore and irritable state of mind; and he strove, or pretended, to ascribe his irritation to this. But he had enough besides to make him miserable. His father had, in February, sent down a message to parliament, to desire them to consider the subject of the debts of the Prince of Wales. No delicacy was used about the matter. It was understood that Mr. Addington was using this method of buying off the Prince's claim for the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall during his minority: a claim which was sanctioned by the opinion of the Crown lawyers. The project now was to add 60,000*l.* a year to his income for three years, to liquidate his debts: but no guarantee was proposed by which he might be prevented from squandering money as he had always hitherto done; and there was not even any security for the restoration of his establishment, which he had broken up, on a plea of necessity, while he was as lavish as ever on his private pleasures. The exposure of his debts before parliament was most humiliating to himself, while nothing was arranged which could make it final and effectual.—When the Royal Message of the 8th of March called upon parliament to occupy themselves with the war, the Prince desired that the subject of his affairs should be dropped: but it was soon resumed, and his annuity bill was passed. It did not leave him in any humour to meet his parents, unless compelled: and it is hard to say which is most painful to read about—the cruel harshness and insulting manners of the father towards his son, at the very moment that he could be sentimental towards his adulatory minister, or the heartless levity and profligate courses of the son, who made it his pleasure to expose to the public the harshness under which he suffered.

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Annual Reg., 1803, p. 99

1801-3. In July, the militia force amounted to 173,000 men; and the deficiency was in officers to command them.' The minister proposed, in addition to all the forces actually in existence, the formation of an army of reserve, amounting to 50,000 men: and this was presently agreed to. There was little that the parliament and people of England would not have agreed to at this moment, under the provocation of Napoleon's treatment of the English in France. His first act was to order the detention, as prisoners of war, of all the English then in the country, between the ages of 18 and 60. The exasperation caused by this cruel measure was all that he could have expected or desired. Many were the young men thus doomed to lose, in wearing expectation or despair, twelve of the best years of their lives, cut off from family, profession, marriage, citizenship —everything that young men most value. Many were the parents separated for twelve long years from the young creatures at home, whom they had left for a mere pleasure trip: and many were the grey-haired fathers and mothers at home who went down to the grave during those twelve years without another sight of the son or daughter who was pining in some small provincial town in France, without natural occupation, and well nigh without hope. In June, the English in Rouen were removed to the neighbourhood of Amiens; those in Calais to Lisle; those at Brussels to Valenciennes. Before the month was out, all the English in Italy and Switzerland, in addition to those in Holland, were made prisoners. How many the whole amounted to does not appear to have been ascertained: but it was believed at the time that there were 11,000 in France, and 1,300 in Holland. The first pretence was that these travellers were detained as hostages for the prizes which Napoleon accused us of taking before the regular declaration of war: but when proposals were made for an exchange, he sent a savage answer that he would keep his prisoners till the end of the war. It is difficult to conceive how there could be two opinions about the nature of the man after this act.

THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE.

Annual Reg., 1803, p. 391.

417.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 276.

FIRST NAVAL CAPTURES.

The naval captures of which Napoleon complained, as made prior to a declaration of war, were of two merchant ships taken by English frigates: and we find notices of such being brought into port on the 25th of May. Whether they were captured before the 18th, there is no record that we can find. Nelson was at sea, on his way to the Mediterranean, two days before the declaration: and on the 23rd, Admiral Cornwallis sent home news of the first capture of a vessel of war, off Ushant, bearing a crew of ninety-two men, who fought with great bravery. In a few days a frigate was taken; and another frigate, a brig of war, and some smaller vessels, in the course of June. On the sea, our successes seemed a matter of course; but meantime a blow was struck at Great Britain, and especially at her sovereign, which proved that the national exasperation against France was even yet capable of increase. On the

breaking out of the war, George III. issued a proclamation, as Elector of Hanover, declaring to Germany that the Germanic states had nothing to fear in regard to the new hostilities, as he was entering into war as King of Great Britain, and not as Elector of Hanover. Whatever military preparations were going forward in Hanover were merely of a defensive character. Napoleon, however, set such defence at defiance. On the 13th of June, news arrived of the total surrender of Hanover to the French. The palace, which the King had lately repaired and furnished for the Duke of Cambridge, at an expense of 50,000*l.*, was tenanted by General Mortier. The Hanoverians had entered into a convention with the French, by which the regency was set aside, the French cavalry was to be remounted and equipped, and the army reclothed, at the expense of the electorate; all magazines, arms, artillery, and defences, were given up to the invaders; all public property, which was made to include the effects of the King of England, was given up; and the Hanoverian army was to retire behind the Elbe. This was disastrous news to begin with; but it was not the kind of trouble which affected the King's mind. A Council being called on the occasion, he came to town to attend it; and there is no doubt that he did, as his ministers said, "receive the tidings of the loss of Hanover with great magnanimity, and a real kingliness of mind." Yet he was, at the same time, irritated and harsh with more than one member of his own family. Messages and interviews were proceeding, in the midst of the turmoil of the new war, to prevent the Duchess of York from sitting at the same table with Mrs. Fitzherbert at a ball: and the Duke of Kent was in disgrace with his father almost as deep as that of his eldest brother. Now, on the surrender of Hanover, the Duke of Cambridge returned home in a few days, his occupation abroad being gone. Government resolved to declare the Elbe and the Weser, and all the ports of Western Germany, in a state of blockade; as the French had now command over all the intermediate rivers. It was calculated that this would annoy and injure Napoleon effectually, as it would cause the ruin of foreign merchants trading from the whole series of ports. English merchants would suffer deeply; but it was calculated that English capital and stock would hold out longer than those of foreign merchants. Thus was the sickening process of private ruin, as a check to public aggression, entered upon, before war had been declared a month. The Hanoverian army was not suffered to remain in its position on the further bank of the Elbe. As the King of England refused to ratify the so-called convention of the 3rd of June, the French general, Mortier, was instructed to make the army prisoners of war, and send them into France. The Hanoverian general, Walmoden, could do nothing—the apparatus of war being all in the enemy's hands. He capitulated; and his troops laid down their arms, and returned to their homes, on *parole*

1801-3.

LOSS OF HANOVER.

Annual Reg., 1803, p. 394.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 276.

Ib., iv. 264.

Ib., iv. 278.

1801-3. not to serve against France or her allies till regularly exchanged. Mortier wrote home that "General Walmoden signed the capitulation with an afflicted heart": and that it was "difficult to paint the situation of the fine regiment of the King of England's guards at dismounting."

Annual Reg., 1803, p. 287.

British Policy. Diaries, iv. 276.

Thus far, no intimation had been given of Mr. Addington's proposed European policy; or whether he had any such policy at all. On the 12th of June, we find the old diplomatist, Lord Malmesbury, talking over matters with one of the ministers, Lord Pelham, and recurring to the Pitt policy of "settling Europe" by balancing her powers, if Russia could be induced to offer her intervention. One improvement on the Pitt policy was suggested by his friend. "If," he says, "the general plan of arranging Europe was accepted, or seriously wished for, we must make up our minds to give money—large subsidies; but I would give them only after the work was done as taskwork; not as we had done hitherto, always beforehand." The reply of the minister was that Addington was "not yet up to this." And yet the government had had to lay before parliament an account of the subsidies furnished by England to the European Powers during the late war, amounting to upwards of 12,000,000*l*. The British merchants who, in the face of this fact, entered with so vigorous a spirit into a renewal of war thus seem to be brave indeed. And so they were: but it was a bravery inspired by the peril of their country and nation. This should always be remembered when the burden of taxation and the grievance of the Debt are complained of. About the war which closed the century, there might fairly be a diversity of opinions, and the recklessness with which the Debt was increased will ever be the reproach of Mr. Pitt's administration. But the present war was an unavoidable struggle for national existence: and the prodigious increase of the Debt which was now to take place was a ransom paid for national life and freedom. It might be that the business was mismanaged: it might be that a vast saving of danger and misery, even now future, might have been made if the form of terminable annuities, and other arrangements, had been more extensively adopted: but, as regards the incurring of debt, truth and principle require that a wide distinction should be made between the burdens laid upon future generations by aristocratic selfishness and self-will, and those which grew up out of the common danger that threatened all classes with destruction. At the beginning of the war in 1793, the Debt amounted to 260,000,000*l*. That war increased it to 320,000,000*l*., the annual burden being scarcely short of 20,000,000*l*. The new war was to carry the debt up to 1,040,000,000*l*., and the annual burden to upwards of 32,000,000*l*. This last addition of 420,000,000*l*. was what the nation was, at the time, willing to yield to the necessity of the time; and, if the last generation had not been so willing, we should

Annual Reg., 1801, Chron. 146.

Political Dictionary, ii. 403.

not now have been that British nation that we are proud and thankful to be. 1801-3.

THE DUKE OF KENT.

As for the disgrace of the Duke of Kent with his family, it was only an aggravation of the temper ordinarily existing between the parties. The information yielded by lapse of years shows that the young Prince was a sufferer throughout his childhood and youth by the partialities of his parents, in the same way as his eldest brother. He was disliked by them, always treated with harshness, always misunderstood, and never allowed to speak in self-justification. He was cramped in purse, and he ran into debt. The nominal dignity of Lieutenant-General was given to him, without such an allowance as was necessary for the support of that rank, when held by a Prince of the Blood; and he had not the privilege of that candid construction which was considered the due of every other officer of that rank in the British army. His last post had been at Gibraltar, and there, in the winter of 1802-3, a mutiny had occurred, which he was accused of having actually caused. He was recalled; and so harsh were his family to him that one of the ministers, Lord Pelham, begged of Lord Malmesbury that he would endeavour to soften the Duke of York towards his brother, and prevent an exposure of the family differences. — The conduct of the King towards his heir, at the same period, shows what his temper could be with his own children while pious words were on his lips, and he was incessantly calling upon God to witness the strength and purity of his conscience, and while he was exchanging tenderness and flatteries with his Chancellor, Lord Eldon, and *his* Prime Minister, Mr. Addington. Those who were *his*, he could love, and even doat upon; but he could not respect the rights of those who were not wholly *his*. He could insult Lord Grenville's relations, and "cut" Mr. Pitt in the Park, and oppress some of his own sons, while he fondled others. Throughout the period of preparation for war, and then of that for invasion, the Prince of Wales strove to obtain some notice from his parents—some acknowledgment of his desire to aid in the defence of the country; and it cannot but be felt by every reader of his correspondence with the King, the Prime Minister, and the Duke of York, that, whatever cause of displeasure and mistrust he might have given them, the treatment he met with was insulting and exasperating. Mr. Addington left his letters unnoticed as long as he could—no doubt from being afraid to mention him to the King. The King returned a curt and harsh reply to such an appeal as this, when made, at last, to himself: "I ask to be allowed to display the best energies of my character; to shed the last drop of my blood in support of your Majesty's person, crown, and dignity: for this is not a war for empire, glory, and dominion, but for existence. In this contest, the lowest and humblest of your Majesty's subjects have been called upon; it would therefore little

Diaries, iv. 210.

POSITION OF THE HEIR APPARENT.

Annual Reg. 1803, p. 567.

1801-3. become me, who am the *first*, and who stand at the very footstool of the throne, to remain a tame, and idle, and lifeless spectator! ..... Hanover is lost—England is menaced with invasion—Ireland is in rebellion—Europe is at the foot of France! At such a moment the Prince of Wales, yielding to none of your servants in zeal and devotion—to none of your subjects in duty—to none of your children in tenderness and affection, presumes to approach you, and again to repeat those offers which he has already made through your Majesty's ministers..... Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger? Ought I not to share in the glory of victory, when I have everything to lose by defeat? The highest places in your Majesty's service are filled by the younger branches of the royal family; to me alone no place is assigned. I am not thought worthy to be even the junior Major-General of your army." It was probably supposed that this letter was written for the Prince by some able leader of Opposition: it was probably supposed that he was insincere, and even malicious in thus exhibiting his discontents; and it was certainly concluded by the advisers of the Crown that the heir to the throne must not be exposed to unnecessary danger. But the appeal should have been responded to in the spirit which it professed; and it was due to the Prince, as to every other man, that a reason should be assigned for the mortification of a wish ostensibly virtuous. The King, however, assigned no cause for the refusal but his own will: and the Minister and the brother merely alleged, on their part, the King's prohibition to them to mention the subject. If, after this, and after his father had married him, without consulting him, to a woman whom he disliked, and after the King had outraged his feelings about his debts and difficulties, by the conditions he exacted and the publicity he caused—if, after all this, the Prince sought solace in his own way, and plunged into profligate pleasures, the King had no right to be excessively scandalized at the name of Mrs. Fitzherbert, or to be offended when his unhappy son went down disrespectfully to Brighton, to avoid the review in the Park, where his younger brothers figured as Commander-in-Chief and Lieutenant-Generals, while he was only a Colonel of Dragoons. What the King did now was to write that he had hoped to hear no more of the matter, after his repeated interdiction of the subject, adding "should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of showing your zeal at the head of your regiment."

Annual Reg., 1803, pp 565, 570.

The King appeared to advantage on critical occasions which involved no offence to his self-will and his prejudices. It has been seen that he bore well the loss of his Hanoverian dominions. He was also quiet and cool on occasion of attempts upon his life. A wild and strange plot had been discovered and punished in the last winter, which must have appeared formidable in the first instance. One of the victims of Mr. Pitt's cruel policy of repres-

sion of political opinion was Col. Despard, who had been imprisoned for several months in the gaol of Cold Bath Fields, then called, from the number of state prisoners in it, the English Bastille. Despard had been committed under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, never brought to trial, and discharged without remark on the expiration of the Suspension Act. This was good training for treason. He established a Society for the Extension of Liberty; and this society was joined by a government spy. When the members had proceeded so far, possibly under spy-instigation, as to plan the seizure of the government, and the capture of the public edifices, and the death of the King, the government laid hold of them, and lodged forty-six conspirators in prison. Col. Despard was kept, heavily ironed, in Newgate. The first witness called for his defence was his old comrade, Lord Nelson, who bore testimony zealously to his loyalty, as well as his bravery. Many persons doubted the goodness of the evidence, as far as the most serious charges were concerned, questioning the characters of the witnesses —soldiers who declared themselves to have been won over by Despard: but there could be no doubt of his having gone so far in sedition as to leave him little chance in those days of political and judicial severity. He was hanged, with six of his accomplices, on the 21st of February, 1803. His last words were a charge upon the Ministers that they, knowing him to be innocent, hanged him because he was a friend to liberty. No one believed this; and the saying went some way to settle the minds of persons before unsatisfied by the evidence. There is no doubt that the King believed that a great number of persons had arranged to surround his coach and shoot him, as he went down to meet his parliament; and the thought did not seem to affect his nerves. His infirmities never impaired his personal courage. Some of the crowd at the execution cheered the last words of Despard. Many more set up a groan when the executioner, having severed the head from the dead body, held it up, streaming with blood, and made the old proclamation, usual in cases of treason. The groan appears to have been extorted by disgust at this relic of barbarism, and not by sympathy with the sufferer, or execration of him.

1801-3.

COL. DESPARD'S PLOT.

Ann. Reg., 1803, p. 597

Ann. Reg., 1803, p. 370

The conduct of the crowd at another execution during this period was so significant as to draw almost as much attention as the execution itself. Governor Wall was hanged in 1802 for an offence committed by him nearly twenty years before; and the offence was having a soldier fatally flogged, without such a sentence by a Court-martial as is requisite in cases of mutiny. The stern fulfilment of the law on the person of a ruler, at a period when mutineers were unrelentingly dealt with, was hailed by the populace, and by classes above the populace, with a welcome which was natural, though it had in it too much of vindictive joy. Governor Wall was leaving Goree, (the small island on the African coast where he

EXECUTION OF GOVERNOR WALL.

1801-3. held command,) in July, 1782, in bad health, when the soldiers, suffering from the non-payment of their wages, made a demand of a settlement before his departure in a way which the Governor considered mutinous. Time passed, and circumstances looked more threatening every hour; and Sergeant Armstrong, a chief remonstrant, was brought out and flogged, after a conversation among the officers which could in no way be made out to be a Court-martial. The flogging was inflicted with a rope which seems to have been used in ignorance of its unfitness for the purpose. It killed the man: Governor Wall remained unmolested in England for some time after his return, but was at length arrested, and carried towards London from Bath. At Reading, he absconded, escaped abroad, remained nearly twenty years a wanderer, and returned at last in full confidence of being let off, after such a lapse of time. But the lapse of time did not alter the facts, nor destroy the evidence of them. However strong the compassion felt for the unhappy man, it was not a case for mercy, while no mercy could be shown to mutineers. It seems unquestionable that the punishment of Governor Wall infused confidence and loyalty into the heart, not only of the two services, but of the people of England generally, as a proof that the oppressor was to meet retribution as surely as the disobedient, and that the law did not sleep. The appearance of Wall on the scaffold was hailed by three organized shouts of exultation, which evidently withered his heart. He no doubt understood them, as did many others, as cries of vindictive triumph: but we may hope that more was due to the supremacy of law than to popular hatred of the sufferer under it. The King's mind was quite clear, as was that of his Ministers generally, on the absence of reason for merciful interference in this case. Lord Eldon only seems to have doubted, as usual. "He would not say that Governor Wall ought to be hanged; and he would not say he ought not." So the case was decided without Lord Eldon's help.

Ann. Reg., 1802, p. 364.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, i. 478.

Prorogation.

Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of August, and it was high time, for the members were wanted in the country. They had sat thus long on account of the Irish rebellion. As soon as they could separate, after that, there was plenty for them to do in preparing for the defence of the country. The spirit was not every where quite so good as the police found it in the London alehouses. The farmers in Oxfordshire were saying that they were so heavily taxed, that if Bonaparte came, they could not be worse: and some Yorkshire squires were promised a handsome following if they would "turn out." The religious leaders were struggling for a prohibition of Sunday drilling; while Mr. Pitt declared such exercise not to be contrary to English Church principles. Mr. Pitt was "rampant about setting Europe to rights"—thus foreshadowing to all who recognised the weakness of the government, his speedy return to power. He had taken the command at

State of the Public Mind.

Life of Wilberforce, ii. 110.

Walmer, as Lord Warden, of 3,000 volunteers, who were to be among the first to abide the invaders on the south coast. The government, meanwhile, were "yawning over" plans of defence submitted to them, and drawing to London so many troops as to leave the coasts and interior weak, simply because arms were terribly deficient, and no vigorous means were used to obtain a supply. Official gentlemen did not act together; and their Premier had very little notion how to act at all. Thus, while the nation understood its peril, and was, for the most part, nobly eager to deal with it, effectual leading in the provinces was much wanted. The Lord-Lieutenants could obtain no clear directions, and no one knew the mind of government. The offers of some volunteers were refused, without reason assigned; others were never answered; and the corps dissolved, disheartened. Where government did explain, it was to intimate a deficiency of arms, without promise of a speedy supply. Mr. Pitt, under the irritation of such helplessness, dropped an occasional sarcasm, which occupied the Minister almost as painfully as the threats of Napoleon. "The city are out of all patience with Addington," writes Mr. Wilberforce, the day before the prorogation: "and I think people in general will begin to be out of temper in various places, from their personal acquaintance with the delays and inefficiency of his administration." So it was time that the Lords and Commons were betaking themselves to their respective districts, to act under government direction when they could obtain it, and on their own judgment when they could not. The Royal Speech suggested "the duty, particularly, to give the most beneficial direction to that ardour and enthusiasm in the cause of their country which animate all classes of my people."

1801-3.

Life of Wilberforce, iii. 119.

While the Lords and Commons were thus employed, during the autumn, the politicians in London, partisans of Pitt and Addington, were carrying on a war of pamphlets, so bitter as to complete the estrangement of the old friends, and constitute them rivals. Once brought into a position of rivalship in difficult times, there could be no doubt about which would sink. Mr. Pitt, "rampant about setting Europe to rights," was sure to be soon called on to undertake the work.

CHAPTER V.

1803-4. THE East India Company's ship, Admiral Aplin, was captured by the French squadron under Linois; and its letter bag fell into the hands of the enemy. Eighty-four letters, contained in the bag, afforded to Napoleon a good deal of information about English affairs, and the views of leading men. Among them was one from Lord Grenville to Lord Wellesley, which was translated, and published in the French newspapers. The English papers re-translated and published it; and strange must have been the effect upon the politicians in London of such a revelation as this letter afforded of the acts and projects of parties, as far as they were known to Lord Grenville. It seems as if this letter alone was enough to overthrow the Addington Administration; for it showed that men and parties the most opposed to each other were drawing together under a conviction that all other considerations must be postponed to that of getting rid of a ministry which perilled the country at such a crisis as the present. Lord Grenville told his friend that there was not the slightest fear for the country from abroad if only there were a wise husbandry and directing of its powers at home; but that as Holland, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, had fallen into the hands of Napoleon through the weakness of the government, while the people were strong, it was impossible to say what might be the fate of Great Britain, if some effort were not made to obtain good government for her. He went on to say that he was drawing away more and more from Addington; and so was Pitt: and, though they were not likely ever to agree about some past transactions, there was now little or no difference in their opinions of the affairs of the time, and the conduct indicated by them. Thus far the letter. The Old and New Opposition, the one headed by Mr. Fox, and the other by the Grenvilles, were, in fact, also showing a willingness to combine, for the same object: so that, when parliament met, on the 22nd of November, the Minister had all the leaders against him, though the respective parties retained their names, and did not compromise their opinions on other subjects by entering into any coalition. From the beginning to the end of the session, the force of the speeches and of the votes lay on opposite sides. At the beginning, the ministerial majority was so large that the Opposition did not often try the power of their oratory; but each attack

THE GRENVILLE LETTER.

Ann. Reg. 1804, p. 119.

POSITION OF THE MINISTRY.

reduced the government majority; and the reduction invited further attacks; so that it became more and more evident that a change must take place; and the question was whether it would happen in time for the strengthening of the country against the French invasion. Mr. Pitt, after testifying his disapprobation of the supineness and fickleness of the government, was little seen in London. He was much at Walmer, doing his duty as Warden, exercising his corps, and astonishing officers of the army by his military knowledge and sagacity. The poor King was fretting; and with abundant reason. The Prince of Wales had separated from his wife, and was giving great occasion of scandal. The Minister to whom the King had clung for satisfaction to his religious feelings, which were outraged every where else, would soon, he saw, be taken from him. Which way to turn he knew not. Mr. Pitt had, he feared, become a leveller: and at any rate, he would want to bring the Catholics into parliament; an act which appeared to the old sovereign a sort of atheism. As for Fox, he had given, at a public dinner, the toast "The Sovereignty of the People:" and he was, or had been, an admirer of the French Revolution, which had begun in atheism, and ended in the murder of kings and their adherents. Lord Grenville was no better than Mr. Pitt about the Catholic question: and there was no chance of making a ministry without either Lord Grenville and Fox on the one hand, or Pitt on the other. These things were, of themselves, only too perplexing and alarming for a brain like his; but there was also the terrific vision on the other side of the Channel. The old King was full of courage and of English spirit; but it required all the fortitude that a popular sovereign could command to look over, from such a station as the throne, to the heights of Boulogne. Napoleon had made a great demonstration there, and his activity formed a melancholy contrast with the delay and irresolution at home. He had formed a new basin for gun-boats, and for the flat-bottomed boats with which he proposed to invade England. He had enlarged and fortified the port and road of Boulogne, and also that of Ambleteuse. He ranged 500,000 troops along the coast, and visited them often and in great state: and he put up finger-posts along the roads which converge towards Boulogne, on which the direction was "the way to London." However much of the demonstration might be, like the last item, mere vulgar bragging, Napoleon had shown enough of what he could do to prevent his enemies despising him and his threats. The wooden walls of England were a strong defence; but they could not give that sense of perfect security which was necessary for the King's peace of mind.

1803-4.

ROYAL ANXIETIES.

FRENCH PREPARATIONS.

As for the Minister who was the cause of so much anxiety to others, he was apparently quite serene, while writing to his brother that it was doubtful whether the enemy would wait to complete

Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 230.

1803-4. their preparations—doubtful whether they might not put forth from their harbours at any hour; and that he anticipated little opposition in parliament before the separation for the Christmas recess. He had to announce, in the Royal Speech, successes in the West Indies, and to claim credit for the suppression of Emmett's rebellion in Ireland. The settlements of Demerara and Essequibo, and four islands in the West Indies (Tobago, St. Lucia, St. Pierre, and Miquelon), had surrendered to the British; and this was the last piece of good news—much exaggerated also by him—which Mr. Addington was to announce as Minister.—He found himself vigorously opposed before Christmas. The Address was agreed to, with some explanations on the part of Opposition. The most interesting discussion was on the Volunteer Amendment Bill. Much confusion had arisen about exemptions; and Mr. Secretary Yorke explained that the confusion arose from the imperfect arming of the volunteer corps, which prevented the commanding officers from making the timely returns required by law. Claims to exemption from militia service, on the ground of volunteer service, should have been delivered in before the 21st of September; but as the corps must be reported as fully armed, equipped, and accoutred, and they were not so, the day passed, and the volunteers were left uncertain of their exemption. Mr. Yorke intimated that the volunteers might be pronounced armed, if they carried pikes; and it was this which called up Mr. Pitt. He was one of those who thought that the volunteers could not be too much assimilated to soldiery: that, if they assumed to be the soldiery which was to defend the country, they could not have too much military regularity in their appearance and action. He now spoke a word for his view, in opposition to that of persons who preferred a more unprofessional demonstration, as looking more immediately patriotic, and less pregnant with danger to a future time. He looked upon the volunteers now training throughout the country as being "accepted for regular infantry: that the only proper arms for such a corps were muskets: and that if they were armed with pikes or pitchforks, or any other weapon, the commander could not return them as properly armed and equipped." He noticed, too, the supply of arms being, in many cases, only a fourth of what was wanted; and required that, while that was the case, the number of days' exercise should be extended three-fourths. Mr. Pitt's view was that of the country gentlemen, one of whom, a capital specimen of his class, has left us his opinion of the slowness of the government in providing arms which the volunteers would use. While "plagued almost to death with orders about beacons, pioneers, and waggons," and arranging for all horses to be moved away from the coast "with as many women and children on their backs as possible," he wrote, "At one time our spirit was brisk; but . . . . . government not having a sufficient number of arms to issue checked the ardour

Meeting of Parliament.

Hansard, i. 1.

Volunteer Questions.

Hansard, i. 320.

Wilberforce Correspondence, i. 288.

of those who had engaged. I have heard much talk of the advantages of a pike, but the firelock is the only weapon to put into the hands of a gentleman soldier. There are a great many pikes in store at Hull, but I rather think that there has not been a requisition for any." This matter was no trifle. The volunteering of the country was the one great test of the principle and temper of the nation; and our insular situation must ever make this a more decisive test than it can be in countries where war has been actually seen on their own soil by civilians. As the Duke of Wellington observed, on occasion of a later alarm, the tendency of a people who are quietly governed, and have never seen war, must always be to rely on the government, to expect to be defended as a return for what they pay to it, and to disbelieve that violence can ever reach them and their homes—their stables and kennels, their libraries, their gardens and farms. There is danger that personal energy will go to sleep, and that the force of the nation will evaporate, while government is expected to do every thing in civil war or invasion. A volunteer force is the natural method of counteracting this tendency—training the mind to citizenship while training the body to arms. The sacrifices made by men thus offering their services were usually considerable. In some cases which we find in the records of the Law-courts they were absolutely ruinous: yet the government first damped the spirit of the volunteers by discouragement and discourtesy; then made the terms of exemption from militia service by volunteering uncertain or impossible, by failing to supply arms and accoutrements; and finally, ruined a few citizens, here and there, by fines and convictions occasioned by the uncertainty of the exemption order. To tamper thus with the national spirit on which every thing depended was no trifle, whether the question was of pikes and muskets or any thing else: and it is no wonder that Mr. Pitt threw out sarcasms about pitchforks in the House, or that he presently disappeared from parliament for the winter.

1803-4.

Memoirs of R. Plumer Ward.

The military force of the country was at this time considered to be, of all kinds, 495,000 in Great Britain, and 120,000 in Ireland; and the number of vessels of all orders, employed in defence, no less than 1,652. Not the less for this, however, was the naval service unequal to the present requisition upon it. Several ships were sent to sea while actually under repair. During the short peace, shipwrights had been dismissed from the dockyards, leaving half-finished vessels on the stocks; and the stores of hemp which had been accumulated by the preceding Administration were sold off (to French purchasers among others) to save warehouse rent. This mismanagement was of a piece with that which left our naval commanders in the East Indies uninformed by overland message of the renewal of the war, while the French admiral had immediate information. Our despatches were intercepted, our India ships taken, and our settlements insulted, before our commanders in

FORCE OF THE COUNTRY. Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 235. Ann. Reg., 1804, p. 382.

1803-4. those seas knew why. Nelson was gone to the Mediterranean. In the West Indies, as we have seen, some conquests had been made. Nearer home, a disaster occurred at Christmas, which occasioned much temporary anxiety. At that time, when it was believed that a landing in Ireland was in the enemy's intention, a tremendous storm broke up our armament before Brest, and scattered our ships, while a steady S.E. wind seemed to offer itself to carry the French to Ireland. They were, however, better employed. While our government was declaring that the enemy had no navy, and was at the same time blockading the French ports, the French were building, repairing and refitting their ships, knowing that the British vessels were wearing and wasting in the wintry storms, and must go home to refit when the fine weather came, and the French were ready for sea. As these things were pointed out, and the mistakes of the Administration began to show their consequences, the King grew more anxious and perplexed every day, and less and less able to withstand any attack of

1804. illness. About the middle of January, he had a fit of the gout from remaining in wet clothes. On the evening of the Queen's birthday, he walked about with a cane; but his manner was strange, and his talk incoherent; and the Queen from her card-table watched him anxiously and incessantly. He continued to send notes, announcing his recovery from gout, to Mr. Addington; and they seem as clear as his notes usually were. There was a council held on the 24th of January, at which he appeared capable of transacting business: and so late as the 8th of February, he sustained a long conversation with the Duke of Kent, in which he appears to have been kind and gracious to his depressed son: yet it was known among those near the Court that he had been decidedly insane during the last days of January. Before the middle of February, the case was as bad as possible, and the whole kingdom knew it. The Queen and her children resigned the care of the King and the ordering of all business to the Ministers, by the express act of delivering in a written declaration to that purpose. It was a terrible addition to the perplexities of the time. The Opposition grew rampant, and the Administration grew feebler—in votes as well as in spirit: and the French shipwrights plied their work faster and faster, and the threats of Napoleon grew fiercer and bolder. From the 18th of February, the King's mania abated; and on the 26th, two documents were put forth to the world which it puzzled the world to reconcile. The Archbishop of Canterbury issued a form of Thanksgiving for the happy prospect of the King's speedy restoration: and on the same day the bulletin of the physicians declared, that though his Majesty was going on favourably, any rapid amendment was not to be expected. Parliament inquired what this meant; and the answer was that, while the King was equal to the transaction of some ordinary business, it

The King's Illness.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 292.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 250.

would be prudent to guard him for some time from all excitement and unnecessary exertion of mind. 1804.

These were not times, however, when the minds and nerves of kings and statesmen could be spared. Though for public purposes the King was called well in March, his family were very unhappy at the end of May. He dismissed and exchanged servants, prayed aloud and incessantly, when he should have slept, and became so irritable that the Queen never answered remarks and complaints, refused to converse with him unless some of her daughters were present, and kept her boudoir locked to secure the repose she needed, several times in the day, from his wearing loquacity. We find this going on even at the close of the year: and such was the state of mind of the Sovereign during the spring which seemed to be a critical season for the fortunes of the world. Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 344.

On the 19th of February, it was reported that Mr. Fox and the Grenvilles had joined forces. Mr. Pitt spoke well of the junction, while silent as to his own intended course. About the mal-administration of affairs, however, he was so far from being silent that many began to anticipate his joining himself to the "Co-operation"; for the word "Coalition" was disclaimed, and "Co-operation" substituted. Mr. Addington, hearing that Pitt constantly disclaimed personal enmity, thought this meant that Pitt fluctuated from day to day between old attachment and new party influences. He never could understand that his own misgovernment afforded ample ground for parliamentary opposition, without any mixture of personal hostility. He was therefore always hoping that his old friend would not harm him in reality, and was astonished accordingly by the great debates at the end of April, which determined the fate of his Administration. On the 27th of February, Mr. Pitt reappeared in the House of Commons, and made a speech on the Defence of the Country which stung his old comrade, by one expression, as deeply as sting could go. He declared that he differed from the government, and entirely agreed with Mr. Windham, with regard to the extent of the question before them.—On the 15th of March, he moved for papers relating to the naval administration of the country, in a speech which was one of powerful criticism of the government. Though Mr. Tierney was amazed that Mr. Pitt should set up his opinion against that of the Admiralty, it appeared that others did so too; for the majority of the government was only 71, in a House of 331; a small government majority in those days. The Prince of Wales's friends on this occasion voted with the Minister: and the Grenvilles and Fox with Mr. Pitt.—After this, came the Easter recess; and at length, the great trial of strength on the 23rd of April.

NEW CO-OPERATION.

Hansard, i. 542.

LAST DAYS OF THE MINISTRY.

Hansard, i. 927.

Mr. Addington wrote to his supporters in the country, to urge their attendance on the important Monday. The Opposition had Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 268.

1804. made exertions to rally their numbers; and the fickle Prince of Wales had joined them. Mr. Pitt did on that morning, what he had long contemplated, and what he thought would be better done before the critical divisions in Parliament, than after they should, as was possible, have placed him in a triumphant position. Some overtures were already made to him, or he was in some way sounded through Lord Chancellor Eldon, (Mr. Addington knowing nothing of it, as he always declared,) as to whether he would undertake office, if the Ministry should be out-voted. He now sent a letter to the King, by the Chancellor's hands, to be delivered before the debate: and in this letter he placed his services unreservedly at the King's command, if they should be desired. "It is done," he told his friend, Lord Malmesbury. His health and his enjoyment of repose, out of office, would have made him infinitely prefer his late and present position; but, after what had happened, two years before, he was happy to be aiding in relieving the King; and, seeing what was now before his eyes, he knew it was high time that some one was saving the country.—It appears that, probably through Mr. Addington's advice, Mr. Pitt's letter was not delivered to the King till after the division, and the Ministerial resignations which it brought on. But, as its date was unquestionable, this mattered little.

Debate on the Defence of the Country.

Life of Lord Eldon, i. 438.

Diaries, iv. 302.

It was on the day of the grand debate that the King held his first council since his illness, signing proclamations for the general fast on the 25th of May, and thus showing to the world that he was to hold his place in the important business next to be done.

On the 23rd, the rush of the citizens to the House showed how great was the popular expectation from the debate of the night. Mr. Fox, in a quiet speech, full of substance, moved a revision of the bills for the defence of the country, and the consideration of measures to improve the state of defence. Mr. Pitt supported the motion, and accused the ministers of not having acted upon their own admission that the peace was a mere notice of the present war, and of having "brought forward nothing in which there has not been a variety of contradictions in the plans, repugnancies in the measures, and imbecility in the execution: nothing in which every step has not been marked by unnecessary delay; and at last the measure adopted amounted almost to a retractation of the principle on which it was founded." No one could well go beyond this in censuring the ministry; and there was no part of the long and vigorous speech which treated them with more tenderness. One member of Administration after another, however, defended, not the government, but particular portions of the preparations for defence, till the Attorney-General, Mr. Perceval, took up the subject where Mr. Pitt had thrown it, and treated the debate as one of confidence or the contrary in ministers. But Mr. Perceval was no match for Pitt, Fox, and Windham; and his vulgar personalities

Hansard, ii. 205-224.

answered no other purpose than to call up the great men in triumphant reply. At nearly four in the morning, the division took place, the numbers being 204 to 256, leaving ministers a majority of only 52. This was decisive. They could not go on, when 204 members had recorded their want of confidence in ministers: and on the 26th, Mr. Addington resigned. 1804.

MINISTERIAL NEGOTIATIONS.

Some friends of both parties still hoped that Pitt and Addington might be induced to act together: but this was quite out of the question. Mr. Pitt must be paramount; and Mr. Addington could not be asked to take a lower seat, after being removed from the higher one on the ground of incapacity. At least, so it was thought at this date. The poor King behaved in a way which is touching to read of—wavering between the weakness of disease and the strength of his own resolution to do what was right in such a crisis. When his minister's resignation and Mr. Pitt's offer of service were presented to him, he was at first angry, as well as annoyed: but, presently recollecting himself, he said that it would be ingratitude to Providence to give way to impatience, and a failure of duty to the nation to indulge personal feelings and prejudices: and he became suddenly calm, and listened placidly to all that was said. He even expressed confidence in Mr. Pitt, to the extreme point of feeling sure that the coronation oath was safe in his hands. This self-control could not be expected to remain unbroken. On the 5th of May, he had not seen Mr. Pitt, but only received letters from him, in regard to one of which he wrote to the Chancellor, somewhat testily. "The King doubts much whether Mr. Pitt will, after weighing the contents of the paper delivered this day to him by Lord Eldon, choose to have a personal interview with his Majesty; but whether he will not rather prepare another essay, containing as many empty words and little information as the one he had before transmitted." The Chancellor could not show this to Mr. Pitt; and it was awkward that there should be no adequate reply to Mr. Pitt's letter, as it contained proposals of a very wide scope as to how and by whom the government might be carried on. For a whole week, things were at a stand. Mr. Addington complained of having been betrayed by the Chancellor, and Mr. Pitt knew not in the least what to expect. In opera-boxes it began to be rumoured that the ministers would yet stand their ground; and in private, statesmen agreed over their wine that Napoleon was certainly unable to invade England, or he would have done it at this critical time. The watchers on the cliffs redoubled their vigilance, and the beacons were kept ready to be lighted with a touch; but there was no more appearance of the French gun-boats than if they had been, like the English, broken up, and sold for next to nothing, at the peace of Amiens.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 303.

Life of Lord Eldon, i. 443.

It needed only for the statesman and his old master to meet for them to be as of old. On the 7th of May, when Mr. Pitt was at

1804. breakfast, the Chancellor came in, charged with the King's command that Mr. Pitt should return with him. It was with some apprehensiveness that Mr. Pitt found, at the door of the apartment, that no witness was to be present; neither the Chancellor, nor the physician, who, as the Prince of Wales had been giving out, was always wanted to keep the King in order. They were together more than three hours; and Mr. Pitt came out full of joyful surprise at the calmness and clearness of the King's mind. "He had never been so baffled by him in any conversation he had had with him in his life." The King refused to admit Fox—to have anything to do with him. Fox was prepared for this, and had acquiesced in Mr. Pitt's determination not to force any one upon the King. Lord Grenville was invited; but, to Pitt's great indignation, he would not come in without Fox. Pitt thought it a time when men should serve without making conditions: and he declared he would teach that proud man that, in the service and confidence of the King, he could do without him, even if it should cost him his life, which, from his state of health, he thought it might do.—On the 9th, the King was not so well; but there was nothing which need delay the arrangement of affairs. On the 10th, Mr. Pitt received the seals, just surrendered by Addington. The kind-hearted King wrote to the Chancellor that he saw that Mr. Addington's mind was perplexed between returning affection for Mr. Pitt, and soreness at the contemptuous treatment he had met with in parliament from his old friend: their patronizing master therefore determined to keep them asunder for a time, and encouraged Addington to go down into the country and rest himself.

Life of Lord Eldon, i. 446.

Ib., 449.

New Administration. Annual Reg., 1804, 122.

The ministerial changes were not extensive. Mr. Pitt himself was Chancellor of the Exchequer. The ministers who were in charge of the defence of the country, Mr. Yorke and Lord St. Vincent, of course retired; and the Foreign and Colonial Secretaries, Lords Hawkesbury and Hobart, vacated their places. Lord Harrowby became Foreign, and Lord Camden Colonial Secretary; and Lord Hawkesbury came in again, as successor to Mr. Yorke, as Home Secretary. Lord Mulgrave had a seat in the Cabinet, succeeding Lord Pelham as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Those who remained from the former ministry were the Lord Chancellor Eldon, the Duke of Portland, as President of the Council; the Earls of Westmoreland and Chatham (the last being Mr. Pitt's own brother), and Lord Castlereagh, as President of the Board of Control. The new appointment which, from its issue, has the strongest interest for us, was that of Pitt's old friend and colleague, Henry Dundas, now Lord Melville, who went to the Admiralty. At the time, it was difficult to understand this appointment; a lapse of years has not explained it. There was no single appointment which, under the circumstances, involved Mr. Pitt's credit in an equal degree. His attacks on the naval administration

of Lord St. Vincent had chiefly occasioned his return to power; and the world had a right to expect from him that he would so fill the office as to show how it ought to be administered, at a crisis in the national history which made the very existence of the nation chiefly dependent on good management at the Admiralty Board. What Lord Melville's administration was, we shall have occasion to see hereafter. 1804.

Now then, the statesman who was "rampant about setting Europe to rights, after providing for our vindication at home," had an opportunity of showing what he could do. The dangers amidst which he stood were terrible; but his sanguine spirit and his lofty self-confidence enabled him to face the prospect, whether or not they might suffice to bear him through. His sovereign was not sane, and might become so mad at any moment as to render a regency necessary; and the regency of the Prince of Wales would be as perplexing and embarrassing to the minister as the madness of the King. Mr. Pitt's own health was such as to make himself aware, as has been seen, that his life might be the cost of his maintaining his place under the opposition of Lord Grenville. During a whole year of war, nothing had been done but gaining some French and Dutch colonies in the West Indies; and some bad news had arrived which shook other people's nerves, if it was not too much for his. The Apollo frigate, and the greater part of her convoy to the West Indies, were wrecked on the 2nd of April, off the coast of Portugal. With difficulty twenty-nine of the vessels were saved, and sent on their way; but forty sail of richly laden merchant vessels were lost, and more than 500 seamen, besides the frigate, with her captain, many of her officers, and sixty of her crew. How the disaster occurred has never been properly explained, but it was a heavy blow, at a time when the country could ill bear commercial adversity. POSITION OF MR. PITT. LOSS OF W. INDIA SHIPS. Ann Reg., 1804, p. 135.

Such aid as the Minister could derive from Napoleon's evil deeds, and the popular hatred of them in England, he had to the full. In the last February, our old diplomatist, Lord Malmesbury, was informed, in confidence, of a plot to restore the Bourbons, which he was told could not fail. The plans laid were extensive; and the secret was believed to have been well kept. It was not well kept, however, some traitors having been admitted to confidence. General Pichegru, a devoted loyalist, was the leader; and he went abroad in January. At Paris, he had interviews with Moreau, one of Napoleon's generals. It was alleged that the assassination of Napoleon was a part of the scheme; this was denied by the conspirators, and by Napoleon's own secretary, Bourrienne. Moreau escaped to Germany: Georges, a leading conspirator, was executed at Paris; and Pichegru was thrown into prison. As the plot was known to some persons of high influence in England, and supported by them, it is not to be wondered at that the French people, in a INCIDENTS IN FRANCE. Diaries, iv. 293. PICHEGRU.

1804. time of war, imputed to the English nation, who were harbouring and cherishing the Bourbons, the design of getting rid of their great enemy by assassination: and, on the other hand, the mysterious death of Pichegru, of whose plot the English nation knew nothing whatever, caused a general belief that Napoleon got rid of his enemies by murdering them in prison. Pichegru was found, on the morning of the 6th of April, strangled by a black silk handkerchief and a stick. A commission was appointed to inquire into the circumstances of his death; and they reported that he appeared to have committed suicide. There was sufficient improbability in the case to give rise to a suspicion that he was murdered; and the matter was never cleared up. Lord Malmesbury says, that when the plot was secure, and certain successes gained, "Lord Hertford was to appear in the double character of making peace, and restoring the old dynasty." If this is true, and such interference with the government of a foreign nation was one of the methods of a war in which England had as yet gained no credit in open conflict, we cannot wonder at any degree of hatred entertained in France against the British. At the same time, our national character was committed by our Minister at Munich, Mr. Drake, who was tempted into an intrigue for overturning the government of France by a man, Méhu de la Touche, who professed to be an agent of the royalists, but was in fact a spy of Napoleon's. When he had drawn in Mr. Drake far enough, their correspondence was intercepted, and Mr. Drake's letters were published at Paris. This correspondence is called "absurd" by Lord Malmesbury, because it failed; but not the less did it tell against the character of the English at Paris; and the hatred on both sides was aggravated accordingly.—The English detestation of Napoleon had presently a better justification.

Diaries, iv. 293.

Mr. Drake. Alison's History of Europe, v. 195.

Duc d'Enghien

The only son of the Duc de Bourbon and the grandson of the Prince de Condé, the young Duc d'Enghien, settled in Baden, instead of joining his relatives in England, and lived quietly at Ettenheim, passing his time in study, gardening, and hunting. Napoleon had been heard to say that this was the only one of the Bourbons from whom he had any thing to dread: and his residence so near the French frontier, allowing of his obtaining information about France, which he could report to England, his popularity from his high character, and the influence of his ancient name, rendered the apprehensions of the new ruler of France reasonable enough. The Prince was afterwards declared by Napoleon to have been implicated in Pichegru's plot, and other conspiracies; but no sufficient evidence of the charge was ever produced. A troop of horse was sent, in defiance of all international obligation, into the state of Baden; they crossed the Rhine in the night; and on the 15th of March seized the Duc d'Enghien and some other Frenchmen, and carried them off to Strasburg. On the 17th, the Duke

was conducted, heavily ironed, to Paris, where, being allowed no rest on the road, he arrived on the morning of the 20th. He was hurried on to the Castle of Vincennes; and there, at nine the same evening, he was brought, worn out with fatigue and hunger, before a military commission, who, producing no evidence, conferred with each other and interrogated him for two hours, at the end of which time they passed on him sentence of death. When sent back to his apartment, he asked for food and permission to sleep—so great was his exhaustion. Yet, when presently led down to the moat of the castle, and seeing by the torchlight the apparatus of death waiting for him, he preserved entire calmness. He thanked God, when told that the grenadiers before him were Italians, that he was not to meet his death by the hands of Frenchmen, refused to have his eyes bandaged, because a loyal soldier does not fear death, and directed his executioners how to fire so as best to hit their mark. Such a fate, descending in such a mode upon such a man, was enough to excite an enthusiasm of detestation in England against the adventurer who had thus cut off a prince so noble: and it was while the island echoed with the dirge of the Duc d' Enghien that Mr. Pitt again stepped into power, "rampant about setting Europe to rights." One of the worst incidents of the case is, that Napoleon concealed while he could the death of his victim, whose probable fate was discussed in the Senate on the 22nd, and on whose behalf he received petitions twenty-four hours after his death. In this instance, he went too far for either the popular admiration or fear. He went once to the theatre just after the deed became known; and as soon as he appeared, half the audience withdrew. Throughout Europe, the sensation was as strong as in England. The young Emperor Alexander of Russia, a fervent admirer of Napoleon, could not endure such a deed as this. He ordered his Court to go into deep mourning, and sent instructions to all his ambassadors abroad to follow the example of the Court. The same was done at Stockholm: and the Emperor of Russia presently sent a strong remonstrance to the French Cabinet and to the Diet at Ratisbon. All this put power—the power of public opinion—into Mr. Pitt's hands.

1804.

Ann. Reg., 1804, p. 377.

Alison's History of Europe, v. 192.

His entrance upon office was made impressive to himself and others by two solemn ceremonials which immediately succeeded the reinforcement of the government. On the 18th of May, the whole volunteer force of the metropolis went down by water to Greenwich to receive at Blackheath their colours, presented by the magistracy, in the presence of the Commander-in-Chief and many hundreds of the highborn and powerful. It is on this occasion that we meet with the first mention of the Princess Charlotte of Wales as appearing in public. She was now eight years old. She stood beside her uncle, the Commander-in-Chief, the Lord Mayor, and the standards. At the final review, the Duke of York ordered

SOLEMN CEREMONIALS IN LONDON.

Ann. Reg., 1804, p. 535

1804. a royal salute, as each company passed the little girl. The colours swept the ground in her honour as they were carried by; "which compliments," we are told, "she returned with a wave of her hand from her bosom, in a very attractive manner." The troubles which overclouded her short life were gathering now; but she was too young to know much about them.—The other ceremonial was the general fast, on the 25th of May. When ordered, it was for the purpose of humiliation on account of the King's illness, as well as of the peril of the kingdom from foreign foes. Now, the form was changed into one of thanksgiving for the King's amendment in health, while the lowly tone about the national dangers was preserved. In the streets, nothing was heard but the bells of the churches, except when the gay companies of the Volunteers, in their bright uniforms, marched to the churches. After service, the shops remained closed: and the streets were more silent than ever; for every body was gone to see the parading of the volunteers, who spent the rest of the day at drill. It was little like the London of our day; though we may hope that our modern London would show the same alacrity of spirit if a similar appeal should ever be made to our national courage.—On this very day, while the citizens were saying "Amen" to the thanksgiving for the King's recovery, the Duke of York was writing to Lord Eldon, as Mr. Pitt did the next day, on the alarming things the poor sufferer was saying and doing. "He is not aware," wrote the Duke of York, "of the dreadful consequences which may attend him, if any unfortunate circumstance can be brought forward in parliament." He had talked about some unreal and absurd plans of foreign policy, the day before, in one of the audiences: and, as every body might not know them to be purely imaginary, they might fatally increase the Minister's difficulties, at his entrance upon office.

Annual Reg. 1804, p. 390.

Life of Lord Eldon, i. 453.

Such were the circumstances of Mr. Pitt's return to power.

CHAP. VI.

IF Napoleon had not, by courtesy, been placed on the list of sovereigns in the Court Calendar, he must now have been so by right. There could be no doubt about acknowledging him after May 1804, for then he was made Emperor with all formality. After the discovery of the Pichegru plot, his obsequious Senate told him in an address that he ought to complete his own work, and that splendour was of no avail without stability. After consideration, Napoleon desired the Senate to furnish him with their confidential opinion, "whether it was desirable to make hereditary succession the basis of the government of France." The Senate consulted for four days, during the latter portion of which time the leaders were warned confidentially, that if they did not make haste, they would be forestalled by the army, who would certainly lift up their General when he went to review them, and make him Emperor. The movement had begun in March. It was on the 18th of May that the Senatus Consultum was summoned for the purpose of proclaiming Napoleon Emperor, and the dignity to be hereditary in his family. He at first styled himself Emperor by the constitutions of the Republic; but presently exchanged the word "Republic" for "Empire." Some officers of his army resigned their commissions on the occasion; but on the whole, the change was popular. Louis XVIII. issued from Warsaw his formal protest; but the Pope was induced to go to Paris, to confer the Crown; and the Bourbons could do nothing in the face of such a sanction. The coronation took place on the 1st of December, 1804. —Then closed the best part of Napoleon's public life. Up to this time, the good wishes and hopes of the best men in society, both abroad and at home, had been with him; and he had so far respected liberal opinion, and wrought for the real good of France, as to justify the hope of the wise who were too far off to be aware of what he said in unguarded moments. It is now known, however, that he had throughout contemplated war, and meant to make it the business of his life. At the time of the formation of the peace of Amiens, he told one of his councillors, in a conversation reported by Thibaudeau, and in others given to us by his own secretary, Bourrienne, that old victories lose their immediate effect on the minds of the people; that masterpieces of art are the delight of only a few; that public works, though glorious in the eyes of posterity,

1804-6.

NAPOLEON EMPEROR.

Ann. Reg., 1804, p. 680.

1804-6. do not suffice for such present popularity as was necessary for him and his new state; and that military glory was indispensable to the consolidation of the empire, surrounded as France was with open enemies and resentful victims. "It must become the first of all states," he said, "or it will fall." He declared that he considered all treaties as mere truces; and that, though he intended to leave to his foes the odium of renewing the war, he was secure that it would not be long before they would resume hostilities, or afford him a fair opportunity of doing so. There is thus no doubt—and men presently began to see this—that Mr. Pitt's first and third opinions of Napoleon were right; and that the intermediate mood of hope and relenting was an amiable error, for which the time was now come for him to atone.

Mr. Pitt as War Minister.

Those who knew him best (not too nearly, so as to be under his fascination, but keen observers at a sufficient distance) were grieved and alarmed that Mr. Pitt should have to cope with Napoleon by means of a new war. What kind of Peace Minister Mr. Pitt would have made, there was but too little opportunity for knowing; but it had become pretty clear that he was not a good War Minister. His love of peace was as ardent, and, to those who knew him, as unquestionable as that of Mr. Fox, or any other advocate of conciliation. He had the high spirit, patriotic instincts, and strong will, required by his position; but he had not the faculty for it. Untaught by experience, his notion of the continental war was precisely what it had been before: we must seek continental alliances; we must subsidize the smaller states, or aid them with loans. Upwards of 12,000,000*l.* had before been thus paid away; and the states so aided had been successively conquered and drawn within the power of France; yet this was what Mr. Pitt planned to do again, being as sanguine as he was before "about setting Europe to rights."

Additional Force Bill. Hansard, ii. 483-493.

His first measure, brought forward on the 5th of June, was his Additional Force Bill, by which he hoped to render the Reserve a means of recruiting the general army by an annual reinforcement of 12,000; and this, by a method which would lessen the enormous bounties created by a competition between men enlisting for a limited, and those for the general, service. The force would now be disposable, in case of its service being needed abroad; and, the militia being reduced from 74,000 men to 40,000 for England and 8,000 for Scotland, and it being made more for a man's interest to serve in person, it was hoped that the recruiting would go on better than hitherto. It certainly could hardly go on worse, if Mr. Pitt's own account was true—that out of 30,000 ballotted, not more than 2,000 or 3,000 appeared to serve. The parishes were to be ordered or encouraged to furnish the requisite proportion of men, who were to serve for five years; and if they failed, they must pay a moderate fine, which was to go into the general recruiting fund. There was to be no compulsion to serve abroad on the men who enlisted, but

they were to reinforce the regulars at home: and it was hoped that the relation thus established between the reserve force and the regulars would naturally lead to a more easy reinforcement of the troops which might have to serve abroad. Such was the famous Additional Force Bill of Mr. Pitt; famous, less on account of its nature than because it served as the rallying point of all the opponents of the restored Minister. The first reading was permitted, after some adverse speeches, without a division. On occasion of the second reading, the Premier found his own relatives and old comrades, the Grenvilles, against him, joining their influence with the weak and aimless cavillings of Addington, and the vehement opposition of Fox, and the vociferous rage of Sheridan. During the late debates on this Bill, the Minister openly expressed his surprise and disappointment at the treatment he met with from the Grenvilles; and the conflict was as vehement a one as has often been seen in parliament. The second reading was carried by a majority of only 42; and there were crises in Committee afterwards: but there was no division on the third reading, and the Bill became law, after an opposition in the Lords, carried on by the Grenville and Addington representatives in that House. Already the Minister found what it was to have the proud Grenvilles against him.

1804-6.

OPPOSITION.

Hansard, ii. 753.

The supplies granted by the Commons before they separated amounted to between 53,000,000*l.* and 54,000,000*l.* On the 7th of July, the King had, by message, desired a vote of credit which might enable him to defeat or disappoint any enterprise of his enemies, and to meet the exigences of the time. When the Speaker presented to the King, on the last day of July, an account of what the Commons had done, he said some things which appear surprising to us who feel the effect of the expenditure of that time. However willing we may be to bear it, and to admit its necessity, we cannot but wonder at the view taken by the House of Commons of a matter to us so plain. "In providing for these grants," said the Speaker, "large in their amount, and commensurate with the extraordinary demands of the times in which we live, we have nevertheless steadily persevered in our former course, by raising a large proportion of our supplies within the year: and we have now the proud satisfaction to see that the permanent debt of the nation is rapidly diminishing, at the same time that the growing prosperity of the country has strengthened and multiplied all its resources." The Sinking Fund was still believed to be paying the Debt by some magical operation; and we wonder the less at that part of the Speaker's doctrine: but his mention of the growing prosperity of the country is remarkable. During the spring, prices had so far fallen as that wheat was at 49*s.* 6*d.* The relief felt by the majority was less likely to make itself known to parliament than the fear and anger of the agricultural classes, which were sending up loud

SUPPLIES.

Hansard, ii. 956.

ii. 1147.

NATIONAL CONDITION.

Tooke's History of Prices, i. 256.

1804-6. complaints of distress. By the time the Speaker made his boast, however, those classes were somewhat consoled, for wheat was rising. The weather had been such that the harvest in England was deficient from a fourth to a third; and before the end of the year, wheat was at 86*s.* 2*d.* These fluctuations were bad for all parties. At this moment, when the prices of food were rising, when taxes were increasing, when the large government expenditure had considerably raised the interest of money, when there was a demand for soldiers and sailors which encouraged strikes for wages among operatives and labourers, and when our foreign trade was threatened by the declaration of a new war, it may be doubted whether many of the manufacturers of Great Britain would have said "Amen" to the Speaker's thankfulness for the growing prosperity of the country.

Tooke's History of Prices, i. 262.

Continental Alliances.

Towards the close of the Address, there was a reference to the States of the Continent which seemed to point to a probable alliance against France. The Royal Speech of the same day disclosed the project more clearly. The last paragraph indicated "the re-establishment of such a system in Europe as might rescue it from the precarious state to which it was reduced." The alliance was not finally agreed upon till the next spring, but meantime, all the world remained informed that such a plan was under consideration. In October, Pitt's language "concerning continental connexions" was more full of hope and expectation, and of willingness to subsidize, than his friend Wilberforce could quite sympathize in; by that time, the recess had allowed him his own way for many weeks, during which his spirits had risen, and his self-reliance had shown itself equal to what it ever was: and he was now hoping to hear of mischief being done to the enemy's flotilla off Boulogne. In July, the inhabitants of our southern coast had believed that the moment of invasion was come; and they showed an alacrity in their duty which gratified the Minister and every body else. An accidental fire broke out in the midst of the camp at Eastbourne. Immediately the fire and alarm beacons on all the neighbouring hills, and far along the coast, were lighted, and every man was at his post.—The threat of this flotilla had now been so long protracted that the British longed to see an end of it. Twice in the month of August 1801, Nelson had endeavoured to cut out the flotilla; but he sustained more damage than he inflicted. He declared—what the French papers always denied—that the boats were chained to one another, and the whole to the shore. Various attempts, all abortive, had been made since: but this season was to repair all disasters, and the Boulogne invasion was to be brought to nought. In October, some attempts at chase and capture were made, with no result but mortification and loss: and in December the Catamaran Expedition, as it was called, took place. Certain vessels, filled with combustibles, level with the water, or below it,

Hansard, ii. 1150.

Life, iii. 206.

Ann. Reg., 1804, p. 401.

Ann. Reg., 1804, p.557-8.

The Catamaran Expedition.

were to be sent in among the enemy's boats, and blow them up: but they did every thing but what they ought to do. They knocked against piles, could not get up to the point of attack, would not go off because "something prevented" it, and passed quietly through the enemy's fleet, which parted to let them through. Nothing but mortification resulted. In November, the Romney, a fine ship, was wrecked near the Texel, and the crew captured by the Dutch, from the captain having taken some wrecks for a part of our Texel fleet at anchor: and four days after, as the fleet was clearing out of Torbay, the Venerable—the fine ship which had borne Lord Duncan's flag at Camperdown—went ashore on some rocks, and was lost. These naval disasters were a sad beginning of the new term of office: but the Premier's mind was elevated by a high-handed act of his own, which was presently reported, with comments, all over the world.

1804-6.

Ann. Reg., 1804, p. 561.

DISASTERS.

Since the rise of Napoleon, it had been a matter of serious anxiety to the English government what to do about Spain. To each successive administration, this was a knotty point. By an article—a secret article—in the treaty of St. Ildefonso, concluded in 1796, Spain became bound to furnish to France a contingent of troops, or money instead of soldiers. The Court and Government of Spain were now among the worshippers of Napoleon, and in fact his tools. The people hated their Court and Government, and France, and wished to be the Spanish nation once more, and not a misgoverned people, under the orders of France. Our Minister at Madrid, Mr. Frere, hoped to see soon a Spanish revolution, which should make Spain Spanish, and should secure her for our ally; but, in this year, a personal quarrel between him and the real ruler of Spain, the Prince of the Peace, caused his recall—unnecessarily, as he thought, but, as Mr. Pitt thought, inevitably, if we were to hope to keep Spain in a state of neutrality between France and England. It was, and had long been, the object of England to keep Spain neutral; while France was using every effort to stimulate her to hostilities. To preserve this neutrality, England had gone so far as to let Spain understand that no notice would be taken of her supplying money to France, under the provision of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, if only she furnished no troops, and took no further part whatever in the quarrel. Throughout the first months after Mr. Pitt's return to power, Spain could be brought to no satisfactory point. She alleged reasons which were not credible for equipping and manning men-of-war. She allowed a passage to French troops. She would not furnish an exact account of her obligations under the treaty. It was universally believed that she was beguiling the time till the arrival of her treasure-ships from her American settlements, in the autumn, when she would doubtless devote herself and her treasure to the cause of France. She had done so once before, in 1761. On that occasion Mr.

RELATIONS WITH SPAIN.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 337.

1804-6. Pitt's father had desired to do what Mr. Pitt meant to do now. Lord Chatham had been over-ruled, and the rich remittances of the Spanish colonies recruited the resources of France. Mr. Pitt now took care to avoid being over-ruled, and to prevent France being the better for the rich remittances from the Spanish colonies. He adopted his father's view, that the refusal of satisfaction was tantamount to a declaration of war by Spain; and he decided to dispense with any other declaration of war. As the time drew near for the arrival of the treasure, it became known that not only had a great armament been long fitting out in the port of Ferrol, but a considerable Spanish force was collecting there; and it was soon to be joined by French troops. Upon this, the English government acted. They sent out a small squadron to cruize off Cadiz, and intercept the Spanish treasure-ships. Why the squadron was so small—why only four frigates were opposed to four Spanish frigates, so that fighting became necessary, when an overwhelming force would have caused an honourable surrender, on the side of the Spaniards, without bloodshed, was one of the questions perseveringly urged by the Opposition. As it was, the ships were four to four. The English commander, Captain Moore, intercepted the Spanish squadron on the 5th of October, as it was making all sail for the Bay of Cadiz, and made known his orders to detain it, and his desire to do so without bloodshed. The parties, however, presently came to fighting; and three of the treasure-ships were brought to England. The fourth, the Mercedes, blew up, nine minutes after the action began; the treasure went to the bottom of the sea, and very few lives were saved. Among those lost was a group whose fate touched all hearts, and much aggravated the feeling of those who censured Mr. Pitt for thus attacking a nation with whom we were theoretically at peace. A Captain Alvear was returning from the colonies, with his family and fortune, to end his days in Spain, after an absence of 25 years. He had laid by, in that time, £30,000; and his family consisted of his wife, four grown-up daughters and five sons. With his eldest son; he left the Mercedes at the beginning of the action, which must have appeared so incomprehensible to him in a time of peace, when he had believed the seas secure. In a few minutes he saw the Mercedes blown up and utterly destroyed. The sympathies of the world were with the bereaved man and his surviving son; but of what avail were they? Captain Moore gave up his cabin to the sufferers: and the government repaid the £30,000; but this was all that any one could do. On board the Spanish vessels, the loss of life was about 300. The English lost two lives, and four or five men only were wounded. Besides much rich merchandize, specie and ingots were taken to the amount of four million and a half of dollars.

Ann. Reg., 1761, p. 42.

Seizure of Treasure-Ships.

Ann. Reg., 1804, p. 556.

The outcry made by France, and by Opposition at home, on occasion

of this achievement, may be imagined: and it certainly injured the reputation of the country, and of the statesman who ruled her. Many who did not know, or stop to consider, that the instructions given from the Admiralty were to detain the treasure, and not to begin a war, were full of compassion for the aggrieved country, and of indignation for the assailant: and those who did understand and consider that detention was the object, thought that it was badly managed, and that doubling the number of ships would have saved all the calamity of the case, and most of the scandal. In the midst of the Premier's natural anxiety about meeting parliament, after this beginning of a war with Spain, he was deprived of a colleague whose assistance could ill be spared. The Foreign Secretary, Lord Harrowby, fell down stairs on his head, early in December, and was so far injured as to be unfit for office. Lord Mulgrave succeeded him, and prepared to take his stand beside Mr. Pitt in parliament, to justify what had been done in this Spanish business. 1804-6.

LORD HARROWBY'S RETIREMENT.

It was understood throughout London that Mr. Addington was to lead in a motion of inquiry about our Spanish relations: and that Mr. Sheridan was to co-operate with him. But a reconciliation was taking place between Pitt and Addington, by desire of the King, and through the intervention of Lord Hawkesbury. On the 1st of November, Lord Hawkesbury called on Mr. Addington at Richmond, and was so agreeable that Mr. Addington determined to "keep quiet and aloof" from party in parliament, and not to be made the stalking horse of Opposition. By the end of the month, he and his lady dined with Lord Hawkesbury; and in a few days more, attempts were made, by offers of minor offices, to connect some of Mr. Addington's personal friends with the Administration. On the 12th of December, the grand move took place. It had been found impossible, after repeated trials, to obtain the support of the Grenvilles on any other condition than that which the King negatived—the bringing in Mr. Fox: and something must be done to fortify the administration before the opening of the session. To bring in Mr. Addington, removing him from the Commons, and thus to disengage his party from Opposition, seemed the only thing to be done: and it was done. To the amazement of the world of London, it became known in the Christmas week, that Pitt and Addington had met, and become as affectionate as ever; that Addington was to go to the Upper House as Lord Sidmouth; and that five of his friends had been invited to office. He himself became President of the Council; an office in which his incapacity would be less mischievous than in perhaps any other that he could have accepted. The weak, vain, and sentimental man appears to the worst advantage at this time, in the letters to his friends which appear in his Life. Every one wiser than himself and the King seems to have been fully aware that he was (in the language of men of the world) merely a tool of Mr. Pitt, who took him out of the disgrace of being a tool

RECONCILIATION OF PITT AND ADDINGTON.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 325.

1804-6. of the Opposition. Some of his friends intimated to him their anticipation of a rupture before long. At present, it was extremely convenient that he thought the Spanish business, though attended with some awkward circumstances, "strictly defensible." He could say nothing about the Defence Bill; but he would speak up in justification of the seizure of the treasure-ships.—By this arrangement, Mr. Pitt lost more than he could ever regain. At the first moment, "it was strongly disapproved by Pitt's intelligent admirers; and lowered him a little in the City." As for his opponents, they could not conceive why he had thus humbled himself. It seemed to them that if he had steadily resisted the King's predilections in favour of Addington, he might have had everything in his own hands. Addington could not have been forced upon the country as leader: it was known that the Grenvilles would not come in without Mr. Fox: and Mr. Pitt was in fact the only man who, at present, could govern the country. Perhaps those who thus decided did not know all. Perhaps they were not fully aware of the state of the King's health, and the restraints and new obligations it imposed on the minister. Perhaps, in the midst of their complaints of Mr. Pitt's inconsistencies, they were unaware of one source of inconsistency in him—the melting nature of his heart. None are more subject to the yearnings of affection, to the visitings of old remembrances, than the proud and self-willed who first alienate their friends, and then go a long way to bring them back again. Years before this time we find Canning "regretting" to Lord Malmesbury that Pitt "had so much of the milk of human kindness, that he never would punish those who had betrayed him:" and now we see him walking in the Park with Wilberforce, who reports in his Diary that Pitt said, "'I am sure that you are glad to hear that Addington and I are at one again!' And then he added, with a sweetness of manner which I shall never forget, 'I think they are a little too hard upon us in finding fault with our making it up again, when we have been friends from our childhood, and our fathers were so before us, while they say nothing to Grenville for uniting with Fox, though they have been fighting all their lives.'" Perhaps Mr. Pitt's unaccountable political move may have been directed by some moral impulse, of which it did not belong to Opposition to take cognizance. The imprudence of it, in the view both of the worldly and the truly wise, looks as if it were so. The strong and self-reliant can never safely resume a friendship with the weak and vain, nor the magnanimous with the petty. No amount of traditional or habitual affection will avail against the incompatibility. The reconciliation was not likely therefore to be a permanent one. It lasted only a few months; and it was Lord Sidmouth who broke off their connexion. Even then, Lord Sidmouth records his testimony to the kindliness of Pitt's nature: "he took me by the hand, at parting, with strong

Memoirs of Horner, i. 281.

Diaries, iv. 28.

Life of Wilberforce, iii. 211.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 372.

appearances of sensibility and affection."—In judging of such cases as these, health should always be considered. At the time of the reconciliation, Lord Sidmouth wrote, "It seems to me that Pitt's health is in an uncomfortable state. His spirits, however, will, I trust, be henceforth more tranquil; and in that case, his health will improve." Lord Chatham's liability to gout descended to his son, whose health, never strong, had been worn and weakened by the toils and anxieties of public life, to which he had been subjected before his constitution had become fully established; really, not long after he had done growing. For some years, now, his digestive powers had been wasting with a rapidity little imagined by his nearest friends. Before his splendid speech on the slave trade in 1791, he had stepped aside to swallow medicine, to allay the violent irritation of his stomach; and during the intervening years, his complaints had so grown upon him, that now a very little would suffice to deprive his country of his services. He had concealed the ravage of disease partly from himself, and much from his friends, by the free use of wine, which, of course, aggravated the mischief. In the letters of most of his friends at this time we find anxious mention of his health; and some agreed with Lord Sidmouth that easy spirits would be his best medicine. "Much will depend," Lord Sidmouth adds, "upon the strength which government may exhibit at the opening of the session." What that strength was must presently be tried; for Spain had declared war against Great Britain on the 12th of December, our minister having left Madrid a month before. The Premier had to account for the new war we were entering upon; and the decision on that question would exhibit very fairly what was his parliamentary strength.

1804-6.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 332.

Lord Brougham's Statesmen, &c., ii. 19.

DECLARATION OF WAR WITH SPAIN.

Before entering on the Spanish business, however, the House was informed of the arrival of overtures for peace from Napoleon. The Emperor addressed the King as "Sir and Brother," in a letter which professed a desire for peace, and a conscientious conviction that France and England abused their prosperity in perpetuating their quarrels. Under this conviction, he felt no shame at taking the first step in proposing a reconciliation. The King did not need to know what we now know of Napoleon's late conversations with his Councillor and others about his deliberate purpose of keeping up a war with England, to perceive the hypocrisy of the present proceeding. It was perhaps as clear then as now that this letter was written in order to be laid before the French Legislature, as a justification of the continuance of a war, while the nation earnestly desired peace. The King of England wrote in the third person, and spoke of Napoleon merely as "the head of the French government." He declined giving a definite answer to the overture he had received till he had taken counsel with the other Powers of Europe, and especially the Emperor of Russia. The security of Europe was involved in the question; and the King of

1805.

LETTER FROM NAPOLEON. Annual Reg., 1805, p. 615.

Ann. Reg., p. 616

1804-6. England was "engaged in confidential connexions and relations" with other Powers, which must make them a party to his decision. Here was a broad hint of the preparation of that continental alliance of which the world was expecting to hear. The overture was mentioned in the Royal Speech on the 15th of January; and the correspondence was laid before the Legislatures of England and France.

Hansard, iii. 1.

Spanish Question.

The 11th of February was the day fixed for the discussion of the Spanish question in both Houses. The Declaration of War with Spain, laid before parliament, and published on the 24th of January, contained a recapitulation of our grievances with Spain, which certainly made out a case as strong as that of our relations with Holland. If war was unavoidable in either instance, it was in both; for both were mere agents of Napoleon. Perhaps the strongest point of the explanation was that which must have surprised the Opposition;—that during all the controversy with Spain, from September till the middle of November, and again from the departure of our Minister from Madrid to the Declaration of War, no complaint was made by Spain about the seizure of the treasure-ships prior to a declaration of war. The noise had been great in France and England; and the notice of the rest of the world had been fixed upon the incident; but Spain made no complaint of it, till the final manifesto was issued. The British Minister was disposed to think that the Spanish Minister had not heard of the event while they were negotiating; and thus it was clear that war was made on other grounds than that particular act of aggression. Two points besides were clear. Upwards of a year before the present time, the British Minister at Madrid had given notice that if the Spanish government did not discontinue its armaments, and explain its precise relations with France, his Britannic Majesty "would want no other declaration of war than what he had already made." The other point was that the Spanish government, in its last manifesto, protested that it had always contemplated war since France had declared it—Spain and Holland being conjoined with France in the treaty of Amiens, and in political interests since. Thus fortified by evidence that the war with Spain was not caused by the seizure of the treasure-ships, Mr. Pitt and his new Foreign Secretary, Lord Mulgrave, confronted parliament.

Hansard, iii. 131.

iii. 127, 131.

In the House of Lords, the ordeal was not very formidable. The two principal opponents, Lords Spencer and Grenville, differed on the main point—the necessity of war with Spain; Lord Spencer agreeing with the government, that it was wholly inevitable; and Lord Grenville endeavouring to show that Spain had evinced all possible eagerness to avoid war, but had been driven into the arms of France by the insolent carelessness and imbecile delays of the British government. The address proposed by Ministers in both Houses was an echo of the paragraph of the Royal Speech which

iii. 345, 356.

related to Spain; and the amendment proposed by Lord Spencer in one House, and Mr. Grey in the other, cast the blame of the war on the Administration: and thus, the question was, in fact, one of confidence in the Ministry. In the Lords, the amendment was but feebly supported, though the debate lasted till four in the morning. It was a rare thing in those days for a debate to be adjourned; so rare, that we find the Speaker thinking it necessary to explain, that the member prevented by the adjournment from speaking had the right to begin next time. It was two o'clock in the morning when the House adjourned; and six o'clock the next morning when the debate concluded. The ministerial majority was so large as to put the stability of the government beyond all question, being 207 in a House of 419 members. 1804-6. Hansard, iii. 410. iii. 468.

In this affair, whatever fault or weakness Mr. Pitt had had to answer for had been imputable to the Administration preceding his own. If our Minister at Madrid had been left without instructions, and if Spain had been suffered to pass under the influence of France, it was during Mr. Addington's term of office. But now, an inquiry was to come on which touched Mr. Pitt much more nearly. The most important appointment he had made was, as has been said, that of his old comrade and intimate friend, Henry Dundas, now Lord Melville, to the Admiralty. No other appointment was of such consequence to the nation, under the circumstances of the times; and in no other were his own feelings so implicated. It was not yet a year since he had poured out in parliament his indignant reprobation of the mismanagement of naval affairs when the fate of Great Britain depended on her remaining mistress of the seas: and now, a far worse condemnation impended over his own Naval Minister. NAVAL ADMINISTRATION

On the day after the favourable vote on the Spanish business, the 13th of February, the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, appointed under Mr. Addington's administration, delivered in their Tenth Report, in which they exposed some malpractices of Mr. Trotter, Paymaster of the Navy, in which Lord Melville, while Treasurer of the Navy, from 1784 onwards, appeared to be implicated. Mr. Pitt would not believe a word of it, as regarded Lord Melville, and censured the Commissioners for bringing forward such a charge. Lord Sidmouth vindicated his own Commissioners: and again, the old friends cooled towards each other, through the rest of February and March. Lord Melville had never once spoken to Pitt, or any one else, on the subject, during the whole time that the Commissioners were pursuing their inquiry; but the Minister was aware that something was going on, though he probably anticipated nothing worse than accusations of jobbing. When the Report was brought into his office, he eagerly seized it, and ran through it without even cutting the leaves. The charge was, that Mr. Trotter had misapplied the public money; and the evidence LORD MELVILLE Life of Wilberforce, iii. 217.

1804-6. given appeared irresistible. That which Mr. Pitt did resist was the suspicion that Lord Melville had been concerned in the malversation. He took the part at once of advocate of Lord Melville; and no remonstrance, argument, or entreaty, prevailed to induce him to relinquish that position. He foresaw that Opposition would seize upon the occasion to displace the government; and he resolved to uphold his comrade and his Cabinet together. If some accounts are true, however, the two men were scarcely on speaking terms from the moment that Pitt discovered that his confidence had been more or less abused, and his government dishonoured, by the unscrupulous carelessness, if nothing worse, of Lord Melville. He felt sure that Lord Melville had pocketted no public money; and he considered himself bound to defend an old political colleague; but he admitted, and strongly resented in private, the vicious management which had occasioned the charge.

Memoirs of Horner, i. 291.

The matter of the Report spread abroad, first among politicians, then in the City, then in the country, then through all Europe. "By God, Sir," protested Alderman Curtis, "we felt him in our market!" Mr. Brougham landed from a foreign tour just at the time, and was wont to say that when the faults of our government rule were discussed abroad, he had fallen back on the purity and high honour of our statesmen; and what could he say henceforth? Mr. Horner declared that no person whatever, in any company, doubted, or permitted others to doubt, that Lord Melville shared in the peculations of his subordinate. It could not be expected that Opposition would leave such a matter unnoticed and unused.

MOTION OF CENSURE.

Mr. Whitbread gave notice of a motion of censure on Lord Melville, which was discussed on the 8th of April. Both political parties were sanguine as to their obtaining the victory; a thing which appears strange in the face of the fact, that Lord Melville had acknowledged to the Naval Commissioners that he had permitted 10,000*l.* of the money of his department to be removed from the Bank, and applied to other purposes, declining, when called upon, to account for the sum, on the grounds of his having no materials from which to make up an account, and of the purposes themselves being of a delicate and most private character. After this, it is surprising that an acquittal can have been looked for on any hand: yet it was believed at the time that, but for the conscientious Wilberforce, Lord Melville would have escaped without legislative censure. It was said that Wilberforce's speech carried forty votes. His kind heart would fain have kept him silent; but it was a question on which his conscience must overbear his feelings. Having waited as long as possible, in hope of hearing some valid argument in defence of the accused, but none such coming, he rose, late in the night; and, as he rose, he encountered that which would have struck him down upon his seat again, if

12th Resolution, Hansard, iii. 278.

there had not been something nearer his heart than even his reverence and love for his friend Pitt. As he turned to address the Chair, he had to look across Pitt, and met those penetrating eyes which it was not easy to encounter in ordinary intercourse. When the words immediately followed, "I cannot satisfy my mind without saying a few words in support of the original motion," Pitt's countenance fell; and as the speech opened out, his agitation became too great to be concealed. The division took place soon after Mr. Wilberforce sat down. The question was between the passing of Eleven Resolutions of Mr. Whitbread's and the resort to the previous question. The numbers were equal—216 to 216. The Speaker (Abbott) must give the casting vote. Sitting white as a sheet, he was unable to do so for ten minutes, during which pause the suspense was very solemn. When at last the vote was given against Lord Melville, Pitt instantly put on the little cocked hat he was in the habit of wearing, and crushed it down over his eyes; and a friend who sat near him, Lord Fitzharris, distinctly saw the tears trickling down his face. He commanded himself, however, to struggle for some modifications in the wording of the Resolutions which would abate the disgrace of Lord Melville. He had small success: and his colleague was pronounced by vote of the House of Commons "guilty of a gross violation of the law, and a high breach of duty." It was five o'clock in the morning when this conclusion was reached; and the House stood adjourned over the next day—a bitter day to the Minister, as were most of the few that remained to him. There was little chance now of his health improving through improvement in his spirits. At this hour, two or three members of the House, of whom the despised Col. Wardle was one, were heard agreeing that they would get near, and "see how Billy looked after it:" but some young men, ardent admirers of Pitt, defeated this by locking arms in a circle round the Minister, and so guarding him out of the House, safe from impertinent eyes, though he was apparently unaware of the service. The anxiety with which Lord Melville was awaiting the result till past midnight may be conceived: but at two in the morning, he was in high spirits, having just received a note from the House of Commons which assured him of a large majority in his favour. Of course, on the passage of the Censure, he immediately resigned. A letter that he was believed to have received on the occasion must have astonished him as much as the rest of the world. The King expressed regret that Lord Melville had, "through inadvertence," lost his office, but hoped he would yet live to be of service to his country.

1804-6.

Hansard, iii. 317.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 355 *(note)*.

Memoirs of Horner, i.300.

The matter was not allowed to rest at the point to which the vote of the House had brought it. For the sake of public principle, for the sake of the public service, and for the sake of the

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1804-6. leaders of Opposition, it was necessary that the charges of embezzlement should be more juridically established. It had been the habit of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, and others of the coterie, to treat the Opposition leaders, and particularly those of the second rank, with extreme insolence, as obstructive of the national policy. Now was the time for these men to show what they wanted, and what the nation ought to require from its public servants, and how ill, amidst vast assumption of patriotism and exclusive loyalty, the country might be, and was really, served.

Further Proceedings.

Hansard, iv. 335.

Mr. Whitbread followed up the business by moving that an address should be presented to the King, praying that he would remove Lord Melville from all office, and from his presence and his councils for ever. He was induced to withdraw this motion, on the unanimous agreement of the House, that they would go up to the King, and lay before him the resolutions affirmed by them. Mr. Wilberforce declined joining this melancholy procession, not conceiving that duty required him to put such a force upon his feelings, after he had effectually borne testimony to the principle of the case. On inquiry from Mr. Whitbread, on the 25th of April (the Easter recess having intervened), it appeared that the Premier had not advised the King to dismiss Lord Melville from the Privy Council, and that he had no intention of doing so. But the proud minister, on consideration, yielded this, rather than allow another debate and division on the point. He had ascertained that the general opinion of members was that he ought to advise the King to dismiss Lord Melville from the Council; and he had, therefore, done it; and the name was to be erased at the first meeting of the Council. He said he was not ashamed to acknowledge that it was with a deep and bitter pang that he submitted to be the agent of increasing Lord Melville's punishment; and no one could doubt this who saw the countenance, and marked the attitude, of the sick and humbled minister.

Hansard, iv. 605.

He had more trials than the House knew of. He was in danger of losing the support of the Addington party. Against the wishes and advice of Mr. Addington, Pitt proposed to appoint Sir Charles Middleton — made a peer under the title of Lord Barham — to Lord Melville's office. Lord Sidmouth wrote, "I deplore the choice that you have made," and resigned. Mr. Pitt, knowing his man, would not lay the resignation before the King, till he had seen Lord Sidmouth. He went to him, reasoned the matter, pressed him "with great earnestness and kindness" to reconsider the matter, and wait a little. He added something truly characteristic of both men. He begged Lord Sidmouth not to write, but to express in conversation what he had to say. Lord Sidmouth replied that he was afraid of that, for that Pitt's manner a good deal affected him; but that his mind would, nevertheless, remain firm, however his feelings might be wrought upon. It ended as

Life, ii. 358. 361.

might have been expected. Lord Sidmouth withdrew his resignation for the time; that is, till the next pet, which might probably occur at a less critical moment. 1804-6.

Mr. Trotter had been dismissed by the Admiralty: the Naval Commissioners had received the thanks of the House of Commons, and returned their acknowledgment: the editor of a newspaper had been brought before the House, on the motion of Mr. Grey, and was reprimanded for breach of privilege in his audacious comments, made in a judicial tone, on the proceedings of the House against Lord Melville; it had fallen upon the Liberals of that day, the Grey and Fox party, to vindicate the privilege of Parliament amidst taunting inquiries, what had become of their love of the liberty of the press; and the minister had obtained the appointment of a commission of inquiry into the War-office;—these things had been done, when the further proceedings regarding Lord Melville were decided on. The Committee proposed by Mr. Pitt reported on the 27th of May. They confirmed all the former charges, and pointed out the case of the 10,000*l.*, of which no account whatever was rendered. The Peers gave permission to Lord Melville to present himself before the Commons to explain his conduct. He presented himself there on the 11th of June, just as Mr. Whitbread was about to move for his impeachment. After sitting for a few moments, on a chair placed within the bar, he rose and addressed the House, premising that the permission under which he was there allowed him to explain himself only on points on which condemnatory resolutions had not been passed. His address was able, but far from satisfactory. If he had not shared in the convenience of a public fund—and most of his hearers believed that he had not himself embezzled money—he had been a party to proceedings too reckless and profligate to be passed over. To the last, he refused to say a word about what had become of the 10,000*l.*, wholly unaccounted for; and the general supposition was, and is, that it was spent in some secret service which could not reputably be made known. Much of the secret service of those days of repression of political opinion could not be made known without more discredit than government could sustain. Any service which must be kept secret on account of the exigencies of the war might have been explained to a Secret Committee of Parliament: but Lord Melville did not desire this. He simply refused to give any account whatever, saying that he was bound to such silence by public and private honour. The representatives of the people did not understand such honour, in connexion with the malversation of their funds (for it was admitted that the money was not spent for naval purposes). They finally decided to proceed by impeachment, after having voted, by a majority of nine, for a criminal prosecution by the Attorney-General. It was by the desire of the Melville party that the method was changed. They

Hansard, v. 121.

Ib., v. 249.

LORD MELVILLE'S DEFENCE BEFORE THE COMMONS.

Hansard, v. 377.

1804-6. believed that no jury could be trusted, under the existing excitement of the public mind. On the 26th of June, a deputation from the Commons, headed by Mr. Whitbread, appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and, in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, impeached Lord Melville of high crimes and misdemeanours. A Bill was rapidly carried through Parliament, which provided for a continuous prosecution of the affair, through all prorogations and dissolution of Parliament; and then ensued a pause in the proceedings, rendered necessary by the advanced state of the season.

His Impeachment. Hansard, v. 616.

Resignation of Lord Sidmouth.

There was, however, no pause in the consequences of the affair to Mr. Pitt. His health was sinking rapidly under grief and mortification, and the final breach with the Addington party was taking place. They actively took part against Lord Melville, and yet expected office for some of their group, which the Minister could not, under the circumstances, give; and Lord Sidmouth resigned on the 5th of July. On the 4th, he and Pitt met for conversation on the subject; and it is clear that Lord Sidmouth expected the wooing with which he had been repeatedly indulged before, but which the Minister seems now to have been tired of offering. "It is remarkable," Lord Sidmouth observed, "that neither then nor on Sunday did he express any regret, or offer any remonstrance, in consequence of the intimation I gave him of the step which he compelled me to take." When, presently after, Lord Sidmouth was severely visited with illness and with family misfortune, Mr. Pitt called on him, and showed him every kindness, forgetful of political discontents.

Life, ii. 372.

Catholic Question. Hansard, v. 97.

The Catholic question had come into discussion during the Spring, on occasion of a petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland to be admitted to a full participation of all privileges enjoyed by all other classes of his Majesty's subjects. The topic was one now most painful to Mr. Pitt: but his course was rendered comparatively easy by the extreme injudiciousness of bringing it forward at the present time. The Pope was, to all appearance, in intimate alliance with Napoleon. If, as was supposed, he acted under compulsion in going to Paris to crown Napoleon Emperor, amidst a vast display of compliments on the one side, and pious blessings on the other, this did not mend the case for the Catholics in Great Britain. The Pope was either the friend or the helpless tool of the great enemy of the British nation; and, in either case, it was an unfortunate moment for his spiritual subjects to seek political privileges; and a multitude who would have supported their claim at an earlier or a later period, were unwilling to sustain it now. If Mr. Pitt had not been bound, as we know he was, never more to stir on their behalf during the King's life, he could not have befriended them while invasion was understood to be impending. The majorities against them in both Houses were

v. 843. 1060.

overwhelming; and their cause was injured accordingly. Lord Grenville brought forward the question in the Upper House on the 10th of May, when the debate lasted till four in the morning, and was then adjourned. It was resumed on the 13th, when it lasted till six in the morning, and ended with a majority of 129 against the claim, in a House of 227. On the same day, Mr. Fox opened the debate in the Commons, which was adjourned at three in the morning. One other long sitting finished the matter for the present year, the majority being 212 against the motion, in a House of 460 members. Mr. Pitt entered (as it proved, for the last time) on a full explanation of his views as to the position of the Catholics. Without being in any way pledged to the support of their cause, he could avow that he did not see the dangers to the empire which some dreaded as a consequence of their admission to political privileges; and there had been a time—at the period of the Union—when he had believed that that admission could take place with every security and advantage. But unforeseen obstacles had then arisen. Those obstacles remained; and others had presented themselves, in the condition of Ireland and in our relations elsewhere; and he considered it inexpedient for the Catholics themselves, as well as for others, that that great change in their position should take place just now which he believed would be safe and right at a happier time. No express allusion could be made to the state of the King's mind; but the Minister indicated the consequences of a vote, at such a period, against the decision of the other House, and of the warfare which would be stirred up throughout all classes in England and Ireland by the immediate collision of Catholics and Protestants in the field of politics, at a moment when the undisturbed forces of society were required for the defence of the empire. At the time, and for long afterwards, it was considered one of the deepest stains on Mr. Pitt's reputation that he failed to support the Catholic claims when he returned to power: but it can now scarcely be disputed that what faults he committed on this question were of an earlier date. He had misled expectation: he had baulked reasonable hopes: he had been presumptuous and careless, and had caused much suffering to others and to himself: but all that could not be helped now. In the session of 1805, it appears that he could not have acted otherwise than he did. The vindictive or sorrowful reproach that he incurred was an inevitable retribution for former fault and error; but it was undeserved by his latest act.

1804-6.

Hansard, v. 1013-1022.

The alarms of invasion were not subsiding, all this time. The French gun-boats were still stealing along under the shores, protected not only by the batteries above, but by their small draught of water, which prevented the British cruisers from reaching them. Napoleon was still visiting his infantry, of which he had now

PROSPECTS OF THE WAR.

1804-6. 115,000 on the north coast, without artillery and cavalry. He was from time to time reviewing his troops, and animating them with the prospect of the plunder of London: inspecting the boats, and practising the soldiers in embarking and debarking. If this was not earnest, it looked very like it. It kept the British sailors in good order, and on the watch; and it is clear that it was not their fault that the numerous attempts of this and the preceding year to break into or break up the Boulogne flotilla all failed. The actions were entered into with spirit and bravery, and well sustained; but the shallowness of the water and the admirable skill of the enemy's dispositions prevented any success on the part of the British. The best proof of Napoleon's own opinion of the importance of this part of his scheme of war was, that he found time to look personally to the discipline of his Boulogne forces, while he had so much upon his hands elsewhere. War had been declared for more than a year, and it seemed to the people of England that nothing had been done. In June, Mr. Grey moved an Address to the King, praying for information as to our relations with foreign powers, and our future prospects, that parliament might not be prorogued, leaving the nation in ignorance of its condition. The motion was negatived by a large majority; but it made known the wish of the friends of the people that they should be informed whether they were paying their heavy taxes to any purpose, and what were the prospects of the war.

Hansard, v. 506.

Hints had been repeatedly given about continental alliances; and a continental coalition was, for the third time, Mr. Pitt's policy. It had now occupied him for a year; and "never," as Lord Malmesbury thought, "as far as human foresight can go, was any measure better combined, or better negotiated." But the statesmen of Europe had to do with one who set at defiance such foresight as they could command, and who, by beating their forces in the field, baffled them in council. When they had, by their united wisdom, elaborated a plan which seemed to them perfect, and heard from their generals that Napoleon could not escape their vigilance or their vengeance—could not turn anywhere without encountering a foe—could not do anything of all that he purposed—the thing was done, Napoleon was conqueror, and the councils of the European cabinets were scattered to the winds, as the armies of empires were over the earth. It might be true that wherever the enemy turned he would meet resistance: but he cut the matter short by bursting through all resistance. While the old-fashioned captains spread out their forces, that no point might be undefended, he collected his into a compact mass, and drove at the weakest part of the enemy's line, breaking up plans and armies at once into a mere wreck. It seems to have required some years to convince the old captains of Europe of Napoleon's method of warfare, and to train and teach them

how to meet it. In 1805, they were so little aware of it as to be as full of expectation from their plans of a campaign as the statesmen of Europe from their plans of a coalition. 1804-6.

As for Mr. Pitt, he was borne up amidst the humiliation and griefs of the Melville business by his secret confidence—the brilliant hope which lay next his heart—that Napoleon would be crushed in the autumn. His own health was rapidly failing, and his spirits would have sunk, but for his talisman of the Coalition. The languor of illness and mortification grew upon him from day to day; but when consulting and arranging about the war, he was as alert as ever. "Procrastination in one whom you used to call the General," wrote Wilberforce at this time, "has increased to such a degree as to have become absolutely predominant:" yet was he, about continental affairs, peremptory, punctual, despotic, and eager as ever. Life, iii. 232.

THE ALLIES. On the 11th of April, a treaty of concert between the sovereigns of Great Britain and Russia had been signed at St. Petersburgh, by which the contracting powers agreed to put an end to the suffering of Europe from the encroachments of Napoleon, by proceeding against him without waiting for fresh aggressions. They were to engage the states of Europe to enter into a league against France; and those states were to furnish an effective force of 500,000 men, independent of the force which Great Britain might supply, which would naturally be chiefly on the seas. Money was also to be dispensed by Great Britain, in proportion to the forces brought into the field by the respective allies. The objects of the coalition were to compel the restoration of Hanover to the English King, and of Holland and Switzerland and the north of Germany to independence; and the evacuation by the French of all territory which they had usurped or overrun; and the re-establishment of the balance of power throughout Europe. No one of the Powers united in this compact was to make peace without the concurrence of the rest.—Amidst professions of admiration of this treaty, Austria and Sweden still held to their hopes of peace with France, and negotiated for it, till Napoleon, in the summer, annexed Genoa to France. This was not to be endured; and on the 9th of August, the Austrian Minister at St. Petersburgh signed the agreement of the league. Still there was more pretence of negotiation—Napoleon declaring that his seizure of Genoa and Lucca was only in anticipation of what his enemies were about to do to him.—By September, it was clear that Austria and France were going to war in earnest. Napoleon at last dismantled his Boulogne flotilla, and drew off his troops, marching them, with all that he could spare from Holland and Hanover, to the Danube, to meet the Austrians. A reinforcement from home was ordered, of 80,000 men, to be raised by conscription. He had already strengthened his army in Italy, and was ready for the Austrians on Ann. Reg. 1805, p. 139.

NAPOLEON'S ARRANGEMENTS.

1804-6. that side. He had engaged the King of Naples to remain neutral; and he had thrown a garrison into Ancona, without the ceremony of asking the Pope's leave. He well knew now that everything depended on speed. He must scatter the wits of the slow-moving Germans, in order to scatter their forces; and he must be up and at them before the Russian army of 120,000 men, now on its march, could join the Austrians. He had enough to do, without waiting for this reinforcement to his foes. His General Massena would take care of the Archduke Charles and his 100,000 in Italy: but there were 85,000 men waiting for him in Bavaria, under General Mack and the Archduke Ferdinand; and 35,000 in the Tyrol, under the Archduke John. He had with him, when he crossed the Rhine at Strasburg, on the 1st of October, 200,000 men. Half of these were divided under three generals, and sent to cross the Danube at different places, and possess themselves of three cities—Münich, Augsburg, and Dachau—all of which were in the rear of Ulm, where General Mack had fixed himself, with upwards of 30,000 men. Ulm, with this Austrian army, was now between Napoleon and the three generals whom he had sent round to occupy the towns in the rear; and the Austrian forces were helplessly divided. The French held both banks of the Danube, and the bridge over the Isar at Münich. There was no hope for Mack and his army but in the arrival of the Russians; and Napoleon was not one to allow the necessary time. If the Russians should reach Münich before he had done with Mack, the three French generals were to unite their forces, and keep the Russians in check as well as they could till Napoleon could come up.

General Mack's Surrender.

On the 28th of October, Mack surrendered Ulm, and his 30,000 men, and all his artillery and stores. In every direction, the severed Austrian forces were intercepted or pursued; and so miserably humbled, that the story got abroad—and the Austrian officers themselves were quoted as authorities for it—that the Austrians had entered into the war with no good-will, being discontented at seeing a Russian army marched into the heart of their country. From whatever causes the Austrian imbecility arose, Bavaria was cleared of Austrians within a month; and Napoleon, now the invader of Austria, was pushing on, due east, for Vienna.—The Russians, at length arrived, tried to withstand the invader, on advantageous ground between him and the capital; but Murat drove them back, after some obstinate fighting. They broke down bridges, and slowly retreated towards Vienna. Napoleon's auxiliary Generals built up the bridges again, and the French steadily followed.—One of the places where Napoleon rested was the noble Abbey of Mölk,—the finest edifice of its order in Europe. On the 9th of November, as he sat under the arch-ways of this magnificent ecclesiastical palace, on the rock round which the Danube wound, and overlooking the vast stretch of

woodland which expands towards Vienna, a procession came through the woodland, and up the steep, and into the presence of the conqueror. The magistracy of Vienna had come, to implore him to spare their city. Perhaps they had heard below that the Abbey was furnishing between fifty and sixty thousand pints of wine per day to the French soldiery: and, though the cellars of Mölk might (as was the fact) continue this for four days without exhausting half their stock, it was a melancholy prospect for Vienna, where the conqueror might choose to plant his army for the winter. The deputation assured him that the inhabitants of Vienna were innocent of the war. It was none of their doing. His reply was, that they must keep themselves innocent by shutting their gates to the forces of both Russians and Austrians, and admitting none but French. The Emperor Francis, meantime, was flying from his capital. Two days before, he had set out, with his Court, for Brunn, in Moravia. His Generals had fallen back into Hungary. The inhabitants saw that there would be no fighting in the city. They disliked all they heard about the Russians from the peasantry, and had throughout been indisposed to the war. They therefore gave the French a sort of welcome. They at least found no fault with them. They appointed a National Guard to watch over the peace of the city in conjunction with the police; and to the people generally it appeared to be really of little consequence whether it was Francis or Napoleon who was living at the palace at Schönbrunn, in this month of November, 1805. What would Pitt have said to such a spectacle, if he had seen it from afar?

1804-6.

THE FRENCH AT VIENNA.

On the 26th of September, he confided all the particulars of his foreign plans to an old friend, glowing with the persuasion that they could not fail. That old friend afterwards lamented the one only omission that he could detect;—that a similar confidence had not been placed in the British Minister at Vienna, Sir A. Paget, who might have reported of the military plans of Austria in time to have had them amended. But the Austrians were left to prosecute the war in their own way, and to bring fatal disasters upon the whole alliance. On the 30th of October, Mr. Pitt was at a dinner party, where the talk was of rumours that Mack and his army had surrendered at Ulm. The rapidity—even now mysterious—with which the news had spread, justified the Minister's rejection of it. He dismissed it as a lie; but one who sat next him was convinced that his haste and positiveness proceeded more from dread of the news being true, than from security that it was not. On Saturday, the 2nd of November, the Minister had a dinner party at his own house, and the same friend sat next him, and recurred to the subject of the unpleasant rumour. "Don't believe a word of it," said Pitt, almost peevishly: "it is all a fiction." The next day, Sunday, Pitt fell in with a Dutch newspaper, with something about Ulm in large letters at the head of

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 347.

1804-6. a column. Neither he nor Lord Mulgrave could read Dutch; and the public offices were empty of all the clerks who could read Dutch. The friend who had sat at Mr. Pitt's elbow yesterday—Lord Malmesbury—had been a long time at the Hague: perhaps he understood the language: so the two ministers went to him at his house in Spring Gardens, at one o'clock. He could translate it sufficiently well to inform the Minister of the terms of the capitulation of Ulm. Pitt struggled with his pride—struggled hard under the eye of the old diplomatist, to conceal his feelings. But his countenance and manner "were not his own." This was another blow to his breaking heart. As it happened, this was Lord Malmesbury's latest impression of him; for they never met again.

In four days more, his spirits were revived, while his heart was deeply touched, by news from another quarter.

Naval Events.

It has been mentioned that Nelson put to sea—his destination being the Mediterranean—two days before the formal declaration of war with France. He had a wearisome life of it, instead of the active one he had expected; his object being to catch the French fleet as it came out of Toulon. For fourteen months his watch was incessant. From May, 1803, to August, 1805, he never left his ship but three times; and those three times were on the King's service; his absence on no occasion exceeding an hour. He was somewhat mortified at receiving a vote of thanks from the city of London for his skill and perseverance in blockading Toulon. He wrote back that that port had never been blockaded: "quite the reverse." His object had been to give the enemy every opportunity to come out—only so as that he might catch them. These last two years of Nelson's life were the most trying. He had to endure the most wearing suspense, and as much of doubt as his decided mind could admit, with no success to keep up his spirits under the toils and hardships of his service. The very climate and character of the Mediterranean seemed, as he said, quite altered; and his ships were worn by a long succession of gales. His health was breaking more and more rapidly, and he was unwilling to die before destroying the naval force of France. In the midst of his trials, the war with Spain broke out; and other officers were appointed to the lucrative service of catching treasure-ships and merchantmen. This was a severe pang to him—honouring and loving as he did the officers who had been his brave and patient comrades for so long in the barren Mediterranean. On the 18th of January, the French fleet came out of Toulon, to join the Spanish ships. Nelson was in a Sardinian port when two frigates brought him the news. Bad weather came on, and concealed the fleets from each other; and Nelson lost the object of his long and weary watch. He found that the French were not any where about Sardinia, Sicily, or Naples; and he ran down to Egypt to find them. They

Nelson in the Mediterranean. Southey's Nelson, ii. 208.

were not there; nor had been. He beat about the stormy Mediterranean the whole winter—sometimes searching for the enemy—sometimes keeping watch on Toulon. On the 8th of March they escaped him, passing the Straits of Gibraltar, to go no one knew where. Nelson was cruelly delayed, too, by westerly winds, while north-east winds were sweeping over the Atlantic. It was actually the 5th of May before the British could pass the Straits. By that time, the French and Spaniards, having joined, were far on their way to the West Indies. Thither Nelson followed them; and there again he missed them—misled (without any fault) by a false report and a series of accidents. They fled, however, before the terror of his name; and our colonies there were saved. So the West India merchants told him, in an address of thanks on his return. But his spirit was chafing at the incessant escapes of the enemy. "Saw three planks," his diary says, under the date of June 21st, midnight. "Saw three planks, which I think came from the French fleet. Very miserable, which is very foolish." 1804-6. IN THE WEST INDIES. Life, ii. p. 224.

At the end of July, he was holding counsel with his friend Collingwood, off Cadiz: and they agreed that the enemy must be gone to Ireland. Nelson went northward accordingly; then back to Cadiz, and all over the Bay of Biscay. Not a ship was to be seen. Then, before the middle of August, he was off the north-west coast of Ireland: but no strangers had been there. Depressed and discouraged, he still kept his judgment awake and bright. Perhaps the enemy might come down upon Brest, and the Channel fleet require reinforcement. He put in to see. Admiral Cornwallis, off Ushant, had seen and heard nothing; and he sent Nelson, with his own vessel and another, to Portsmouth.—At Portsmouth, he learned that, a month before, the French and Spanish fleet had been met in the Atlantic by Sir Robert Calder's squadron, which had taken two large ships. Nelson wished, as the nation did, that he had been there, to have done more, though the feat would have been thought a considerable one, if a greater than Sir Robert Calder had not accustomed the world to prodigious victories. He now went down to his house at Merton to rest. ROVING THE SEAS. AT HOME.

In a few days, a friend from the fleet called on him at five in the morning, and, finding him ready dressed, gave him the news that the enemy had got their reinforcements out from Ferrol, without hindrance, and had entered Cadiz in safety. This was enough to stir a cooler spirit than Nelson's. He offered his services to the new Admiralty Minister, Lord Barham, who was thankful, of course, to accept them. Every exertion was made to aid him, and meet his wishes; and on the 14th of September, he arrived at Portsmouth. Before he left London, he went to his upholsterer, who held in charge his coffin, a present from a brother captain, and a favourite article of furniture in his cabin. This strange present had a meaning. It was constructed out of the Life, ii. p. 231.

1804-6. mainmast of a French vessel, destroyed at the Battle of the Nile. Nelson now, in the middle of September, 1805, gave directions for the history of the coffin to be engraved upon the lid, as he should probably soon want it. This was not from the sense of danger which every officer must feel who is soon going into action: but from the knowledge that he was a mark for the enemy, and that the hostile force would always "make a dead set," at his ship, and their marksmen aim at his heart. When he embarked at Portsmouth, the popular enthusiasm set at defiance all bounds and all order; and it was seen to be necessary to let the people crowd the parapets as they would, and take care of themselves. It was cheering to Nelson to perceive that the popular faith in him was as strong as ever, though he and the nation had so long been baulked of victory.

Life, ii. p.234.

On the day when Mr. Pitt confided his plans, in a sanguine spirit, to Lord Malmesbury—the 26th of September—Nelson was drawing near Cadiz; and he arrived there on his birth-day, the 29th, when he completed his 47th year. He had taken precautions, and successfully, to prevent its being known what his force was. When the French Admiral, Villeneuve, heard that he had joined the fleet, he hesitated about leaving the bar: but an American traveller assured him that the report must be false, as he had seen Nelson in London only a few days before. Nelson kept his chief force out of sight, and stationed himself so far N.W. of Cadiz as not to be caught by a westerly wind, and driven into the Mediterranean; and there he blockaded the port. His object being to starve out the ships, he captured such small Danish vessels as were employed in conveying provisions to little towns along the coast; and he held himself ready to account afterwards for this act of aggression upon Denmark.

Off Cadiz.

Every day now gave more promise that the enemy would come out; and the population of the fleet were in high spirits—even amusing themselves with theatrical entertainments in the evenings. Nelson had his cares, however—much improved as were his prospects. His want of frigates kept him in the dark, as it had done so disastrously before. He had not scouts enough to satisfy him that he knew what the enemy were about. The Spanish squadron from Carthagena might come up in one direction; and the French one from Brest in another; and the odds might then be too fearful even for his spirit, and notion of British superiority. On the 9th of October, he sent to his friend Collingwood his sketch of a plan of attack, as far as he could form it with his present knowledge. On the 19th, the long-wished-for message reached him that the enemy were coming out of port. By two o'clock, they were at sea: and the field was open at last.

Battle of Trafalgar.

It was the 21st before the fleets faced each other. The enemy had 33 sail of the line and 7 frigates: the British had 27 of the

Engraved by T. Woolnoth

LORD NELSON.

From an original Picture by Hoppner in his Majesty's Collection at St. James's

London Published by Charles Knight & Co. Ludgate Street.

one and 4 of the other. After the arrangements for battle were all made, Nelson was calm and cheerful, but not in the state of exhilaration which he had manifested on some former occasions. He had now opposed to him as near a match, as to both skill and bravery, as the enemy could supply. Admiral Villeneuve disposed his force so as to have the port of Cadiz to retreat to, and to compel the British to place themselves where there might be danger from the shoals of Trafalgar and St. Pedro—points of coast in their lee. Nelson and Collingwood led on the two lines in which the British ships were ranged; and the first shot was fired just before noon. It was at a quarter past one, in the heat of the action, that Nelson received his death wound. A ball struck the epaulette on his left shoulder, and broke his spine. In another hour and ten minutes, his Captain, Hardy, brought him news that ten of the enemy's ships had struck. In fifty minutes more, Hardy came to him again, with news of complete victory. At least, fourteen or fifteen of the enemy's ships had struck, he said; and Nelson replied, that he had bargained for twenty. And twenty there were. The last shots were heard a few minutes before Nelson drew his final breath, at half-past four. By accidents of weather, several of the prizes were lost; and one escaped into Cadiz: but the naval force of the enemy was effectually broken. The Spanish Admiral, Alva, died of his wounds. Villeneuve was carried to England, whence he was permitted to return to France. On his way to Paris, he was either murdered or committed suicide. 1804-6 DEATH OF NELSON

It was while Mr. Pitt was in the midst of the struggle of feeling, which has been described as succeeding the news of the capitulation of Ulm—only on the Thursday after that Sunday when he carried the Dutch newspaper to his friend in Spring Gardens—that the tidings of the Battle of Trafalgar reached him. He was called up in the night to receive them, in the form of a packet of despatches from Admiral Collingwood. He said afterwards that, for once in his life, he could not sleep after the interruption. Many times, in his career as minister, he had been called up in the night, to receive news, good or bad; and he had always before been able to lay down his head and sleep immediately: but on this occasion, he was so restless that he rose at three o'clock. The naval power of France and Spain was destroyed. We had nothing more to fear at sea: that part of our warfare might be considered closed; but Nelson was gone; and no one, from Pitt down to the humblest man born on British ground, knew whether most to rejoice or to mourn. Their peculiar hero was lost; the greatest naval commander that the world had produced; and nothing could be a compensation for his loss. Peculiar indeed Nelson was: peculiarly British, among other things. While full fraught with the genius which belongs to no country, he had the qualities, almost in excess, which Britons Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 349 *(note)*. HIS CHARACTER.

1804-6. are apt to call British. His whole frame of body and mind seems to have overflowed with an electric sensibility, by which his own life was made one series of emotions, and his own being seemed to communicate itself to all others. Every man, woman, and child, who came near him was heroic: and in himself were mingled emotions which rarely meet in the same soul. Few would have the courage to entertain at once, as he did, guilt and piety, remorse and confidence, paroxysms of weakness and inspirations of strength. Except as his native vigour wrought as discipline, he was undisciplined. He was as vehement in his modes of expression as in his feelings; and he appears to have made no effort whatever to preserve his domestic virtue, and withstand the guilty passion which poisoned his life, and that of his innocent wife, and which mingles pity and disgust with the admiration and gratitude of an idolizing nation. His piety was not only warm, but most presumptuous in the midst of his helpless guilt. He prayed glowingly and confidently; but then, it was not like the prayer of any one else. It was petition as to a Superior Power enlisted against the French, which, on such an occasion, would not deal with him about Lady Hamilton. This view, unconsciously held, was no doubt natural; for it was that of the people generally. No one wanted to deal with him, as others are dealt with by society, for his domestic guilt, while he was to the popular eye like an angel with a flaming sword, God-sent to deliver the country. To the people, he was now the champion and the sailor; and he was adored as he, in that view, deserved to be. The disclosures of after years, and the ethical judgment which, sooner or later, follows upon a passionate idolatry, have made the name and image of Nelson now very different from what they were on the day of his funeral: but still he is truly regarded as the greatest of naval captains; as worthy of all honour for bravery, humanity, professional disinterestedness, and devoted zeal; and as commanding even a deeper admiration by the delicacy of his sensibilities on behalf of his country and his comrades. His passions and weaknesses were so clearly the misery of his life, that to point them out as being so is, perhaps, a sufficient reprobation. In the ecstacy of their gratitude, the nation mourned that they could do nothing but heap honours on the memory of their hero, and on all whom he had left to whom they could do honour without shaming him and themselves. His brother was made an earl, with an income of 6,000*l.* a year: his sisters were presented with 10,000*l.* each; and 100,000*l.* were voted for the purchase of an estate. All this would not have satisfied him; for, in the last paper he wrote, on the day of his death, the paper which made the nation his executor, he thrust his relations into a sort of postscript. It was Emma Hamilton whom he bequeathed to the nation's care, with a curious mingling of claims of her own public services, and of her being

Life, ii. 248.

his Emma. The one claim neutralized the other. If it was the principle and method of society in England to reward public service, wherever found, without a glance at private moral deserts, Lady Hamilton might and would have been pensioned, and raised far above the destitution in which she died abroad. But such is not—and was, even less, at that time—the view of English society; and Lady Hamilton could expect nothing from the nation while she was commended to them as Nelson's legacy; known, as she was, to have estranged him from a wife to whose goodness he bore the most emphatic testimony. It is a relief to turn from the spectacle of Nelson writing that paper in his cabin to that of his funeral in St. Paul's, when the sailors seized his flag, as it was about to be lowered into his grave, and rent it in pieces, that each might wear a fragment next his heart. The leaden coffin, in which he was brought home, was cut up and spread abroad in like manner. Statues and other monuments were voted in profusion: and for many years afterwards, children by the firesides of England looked up when their ear was struck by the tone in which Nelson's name was spoken, and wondered at the tears which they saw in their parents' eyes. Never was man more mourned by a nation. 1804-6. HIS FUNERAL.

Two days after the arrival of the news from Trafalgar, Mr. Pitt was present at the Lord Mayor's dinner, in high spirits. His entry into the City had been a sort of triumph; and the new victory gained by Britons effaced, in the popular mind, the impression of defeat sustained by Austrians. While Mr. Pitt was balancing this good and bad public news, the same process was going on in his secret mind, with regard to some that was more private. The bad fortune was that he could make no impression on the Grenvilles. He was very helpless in his weak cabinet; and the Addington alliance, which had brought nothing but mortification, was over. The state of the country, as he was always telling the King, required the union of the ablest men that could be found; and party considerations ought to be placed in abeyance. The King always agreed, and told him to apply to the Grenvilles: but when reminded that the Grenvilles would not come in without Mr. Fox, he stiffened himself at the name, and could not be further reasoned with. Mr. Pitt hoped and believed that his perseverance in advocating the admission of Mr. Fox was making some impression, and that the difficulty would give way in time: but there was now no time to lose. Once more, he applied this autumn to the Grenvilles; and once more he received the old reply. With a heavy heart, he turned to contemplate his own party—especially his own personal adherents. The best plan he could devise was to put his young friend Canning and Charles Yorke into the Cabinet, with the Board of Control; and this he intended to have done at the beginning of the Session. If success DIFFICULTIES OF THE MINISTER. Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 351.

1804-6. should happen on the Continent, he could stand his ground against any opposition, and triumphantly carry out his scheme of policy. If not — but this was an alternative of which he never spoke, and from which he probably turned away his thoughts in his deepest solitude.

Accession of Prussia to the League.

The good news with which he cheered his Cabinet and himself was, that Prussia had declared for the Coalition. In his sanguine moods, he overlooked—what he must have known—that it mattered little what Prussia professed and promised, as she was obviously trimming between Napoleon and Alexander, and not to be depended upon by either. Lord Harrowby was immediately sent off to Berlin, from whence his very earliest letters were full of discouragement; for, by that time, Napoleon was driving the Austrians before him like a flock of sheep.—It was time now to be fixing the date of the meeting of parliament; and the poverty of the exchequer was extreme. The government, in its pressure for money, was issuing bills at three months' date; and they must be provided for. Yet the Minister lingered about fixing the date. He longed for some good news from the continent which should enable him to lift up his head in parliament as in his proudest days. His comrades were of his mind about delaying to the utmost the opening of the session; for his health not only made them uneasy, but much impeded the business of the government. Neither they nor he seem to have anticipated that he would never appear in parliament more.—The meeting of parliament was finally fixed for the 21st of January.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 350.

The forces with which England was to strengthen the allies were preparing. An armament for the Weser was on its way; and an expedition of 45,000 men, under the Duke of York, was soon to set forth. The staff of the Commander-in-Chief was to include the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge. Austria was now suffering from adversity, and her armies commanded by her Archdukes; and most people in England regarding this as an omen, dreaded a similar result from the young Princes of the Blood being sent out as Commanders and Aides before they had been learners. Mr. Pitt's brother, Lord Chatham, was of the coterie; and from his want of energy, he boded no good to the conjunction. But news was on the way which presently stopped men's tongues about all lesser misfortunes.

When Napoleon received the news of the Battle of Trafalgar, he said, in a tone of vexation, "I cannot be every where at once." To the end of his life, he seemed to conclude that he could have conquered Nelson, if he had been on the spot. He was carrying all before him where he was.

We have said that the Emperor and Court of Austria had gone northwards into Moravia, when Napoleon entered Vienna. Napoleon was aware that the Austrian forces were hourly recruited

by fine young soldiers from the Tyrol, Croatia, and above all, Hungary. He had engaged to treat with a Prussian envoy, who was coming to express the good-will of Prussia to him—as the good-will of Prussia had just been offered to Mr. Pitt in London. The Prussian envoy made his journey extremely slow, in order to see how affairs were tending. By the 22nd of November, Napoleon would wait no longer. He pushed across the Danube, and followed the Court in the direction of Brunn. By the time he had reached Brunn, the Emperors of Russia and Austria had retreated to Olmütz, where a new division of troops from Russia joined them, raising their force to 80,000 men. Here the Prussian envoy presented himself, and was received with the insulting recommendation to go to Vienna, and wait to see which way fortune would decide the impending battle. We know by a letter to Talleyrand, that Napoleon was at this time aware of the Prussian negotiations in London. He did not forget to show his sense of such conduct when an opportunity occurred for humbling Prussia. 1804-6.

Alison's History of Europe, v. 467

He had little dread of the Austrian troops, regarding them as made up chiefly of raw recruits and soldiers discouraged by the events of the campaign thus far: but he feared the Russians. He sent a man into the Russian camp who knew how to use his eyes, while appearing to see nothing. Savary went to see Alexander, bearing one of Napoleon's now commonplace epistles, remonstrating against war, and inviting to peace and friendship. Savary brought some information about the Russian forces to his master; and then made a second visit, from which he brought more. Alexander refused to desert Austria; but, on his part, offered terms which Napoleon rejected with scorn.

BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ.

If the Emperors could have waited for even a short time, the fortune of the campaign might have been different. But the Russians were hungry. There were provisions in Vienna in abundance; but the French had been enjoying them: and Brunn and the mountains behind afforded an intolerably bare subsistence to the troops of the allies. They pushed on to Brunn, and Napoleon retreated to Austerlitz. It was not the first time he had been there. While Savary was cajoling the young Czar, Napoleon had made use of his time in surveying the field of Austerlitz, which he found to be admirable for his purposes.—Marshal Kutusoff was the responsible Commander on the side of the allies. On the 1st of December, he brought on and arranged his forces in a style which delighted even his great antagonist. But Napoleon saw faults. He saw that the Austrian forces were not well disciplined, and that, in order to turn the right flank of the French, Kutusoff was extending his line too much. Dropping his glass with an air of satisfaction, Napoleon observed, "By to-morrow evening that army is mine."—All night he passed, through freezing winds and

Alison's History of Europe, v. 470.

1804-6. storms, from bivouac to bivouac, bewitching his soldiers with the singular magnetism which he could dispense on such occasions. He slept for one half-hour, and no more, by a bivouac fire, and was on horseback before daylight. It was the first anniversary of his Coronation; and the day turned out as he intended it should. —By an hour or two after noon, thousands of Russians lay under the broken ice in the lakes in the rear of the allies; and thousands more lay dead in lines on the field of Austerlitz. Some had been pushed back, and the thin ice broke under the pressure of their retreat. Those who would not retreat were mowed down where they stood. The Russians fought tremendously, and endured desperately; and it was night before the last of them left the field, which they did in fine order. The day was far from an easy or secure one to the French. There were moments in it when the fortunes of Napoleon seemed on the verge of destruction: but the issue was so clear that Francis of Austria was presently by his side, in a mood of submission, calling his great adversary, "Sir, my brother," and giving up pretty nearly whatever Napoleon chose to ask. Alexander would have nothing to do with this. He kept aloof; and saw from afar the Austrians going over to the French interest, and consulting with Napoleon how to get rid of him and his troops. It was indeed so.

Austrian Armistice. Annual Reg., 1805, 178.

On the 6th of December, the armistice was signed, by which Francis agreed to turn off the Russians from his territories, and admit no foreign troops whatever henceforth: to give up Presburg—thus posting the French in the rear of Vienna—and to give up Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, and Venice; thus opening to the French a broad expanse of territory about the Adriatic, and a command of the Mediterranean at that end. This was more than could easily have been obtained by many campaigns; but it was not nearly all that was required

Treaty.

when the Definitive Treaty came to be signed, on the 26th of December, at Presburg. By that treaty, Austria and its dependencies and allied neighbours were in fact completely subjected to the pleasure of the conqueror: and at the very time, the Archdukes were coming up—one victorious over a division of Bavarians, and another with a large army in excellent order. They could now do nothing: and the Emperor of Russia could only protest, and withdraw his troops. They were in a very distressed condition; but he began his retreat on the 6th of December, and saved at least his honour.

Mr. Pitt's Illness.

Mr. Pitt was at Bath when the news arrived of the secession of Austria from his great Coalition. He had been ordered to Bath early in the month of December; and, soon after he went there, he had a fit of the gout which did not relieve him as usual, but enfeebled him extremely, and destroyed his power of digestion. The news of Austerlitz came first through France, in the boastful language of her newspapers. "Roll up the map of Europe," said the heart-broken statesman, in the first moment of his anguish.

Presently, however, his sanguine spirit rallied. Rumours were 1804-6.
prevalent of the Russians having rallied, the day after the battle,
and driven Napoleon out of the field: and Pitt, characteristically, Malmesbury Diaries, iv.
chose to believe these rumours to the last moment, in defiance of 352.
the despatches from his own envoys abroad. At the end of
December, just at the close of the most wretched year of Pitt's life,
Lord Castlereagh went to Bath, to tell him the truth. He never
rallied after it.—On the 10th of January, he was brought towards 1806.
home, "so emaciated as not to be known:" but his physicians
declared that if he was to recover, it must be by means of entire
rest. The government was at a stand-still; and nobody knew
what to do. The King was now nearly blind, and in a state of
restless uneasiness which threatened a return of insanity. Pitt's
coadjutors, subordinates, and friends, agreed to propose office to the
leaders of Opposition, in order to save the country; and the Oppo- Memoir of Ward, ii. 172.
sition leaders were (according to his own statement) making over-
tures to Lord Sidmouth for the support of the Addington coterie.
It seemed to all parties the darkest period they had ever known.
In order to be ready, the Opposition prepared an amendment to
the Address which must be moved on the meeting of parliament,
little aware how soon death was to set aside their plans.

On the 11th, Saturday, the minister reached his home on Putney Heath. On the Monday, he saw two of his comrades—separately, and only for pleasant conversation: but he was greatly exhausted, and told the Bishop of Lincoln (who was constantly with him) that he felt he should never recover. Placing his hand on his stomach, he said he felt a fatal giving way there. Yet he was out for a drive the next day. On that day he saw his old friend, Lord Wellesley, then just returned from India. He was gay and sanguine as ever, Lord Wellesley used to say; even sure that he should recover; but the interview was too much for him: he fainted away; and none of his colleagues were admitted again. On the next day came on the fatal irritability of stomach which closed the struggle. When Parliament met, the Amendment was given up, or suspended, by Opposition, because they found that the Minister against whom it was aimed was passing beyond their reach. The next day, Wednesday, 22nd of January, he was first spoken to as a dying man: he was then too weak for intercourse, being unable to articulate more than a word or two at a time. That his mind was awake is however proved by an interesting vestige of those closing hours, preserved by his physician. Among the inferior office holders of his administration was Robert Ward, since better known as a novelist than as a politician. Mr. Ward had given up a Welsh judgeship for the office he held, under some engagement for compensation for a sacrifice at the outset. During his illness, Pitt had more than once mentioned him; and now he Memoir, i. 176.
was understood to be attempting to say "Robert Ward." He

1804-6. signed for pen and paper, and he feebly marked some wandering characters, of which not a word has been read to this day, but his well-known signature. It was doubtless some memorandum in the young man's favour. The impression of his latter days was very dreary on the minds of those who knew the details of his state. During the first week at Bath, his step was firm and his bearing stately as usual. When brought back to Putney, he could only sit in his easy chair, neither reading, nor speaking, nor being spoken to—purely on account of bodily weakness: and what a mass of painful thoughts was heaving within! The being first spoken to as a dying man, on the Wednesday morning, though evidently a surprise, must have been welcome to one sunk so deeply in adversity. He died, at the age of 47, early in the morning of the next day—Thursday, January 23rd. On that evening a gentleman who had happened to be out of the way of the intelligence of the day, called at the door to make inquiries No one answered his knock: and the door being open, he went in The house was very still, and, no one appearing, the visitor proceeded until he came to the room where the cold corpse was lying, deserted. The shock was dreadful; and the inquirer never lost the impression of horror and disgust. As he was leaving the premises, a solitary servant appeared from below. Every body else was gone from the side of the dead. Such attachment as he inspired seems not to have been that which makes sacred "the shell of the flown bird:" it had nothing of a domestic character. He was never married. Political life was every thing to him—charming as he was in society. He staked his all in life on political success; and he died of defeat. Every one believed and knew that his integrity about public money matters was indisputable; and no one therefore supposed that he could die rich: but it was a painful surprise to his friends to find how vast were his debts. He owed nearly 50,000*l.*, though his income, while Warden of the Cinque Ports, was not less than 10,000*l.* a year, and he lived at the rate of not more than 5,000*l.* or 6,000*l.* Some of his affectionate friends were anxious to pay these debts quietly, out of their own purses, to avoid the setting up of a doubtful precedent, as well as for the honour of the departed; and Mr. Perceval, for one, though his family was large and his fortune moderate, offered 1,000*l.* But a motion was brought forward in the House, on the 3rd of February, for the payment of the debts to tradesmen (amounting to 40,000*l.*) by the country; and no opposition was made to it. The body lay in state in the Painted Chamber of the House of Parliament, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, with every mark of honour. There was probably no part of his life when he was so unpopular as in the closing period; for his peculiar policy was in course of wretched failure. His own friends found it difficult to press a Resolution that he was a great States-

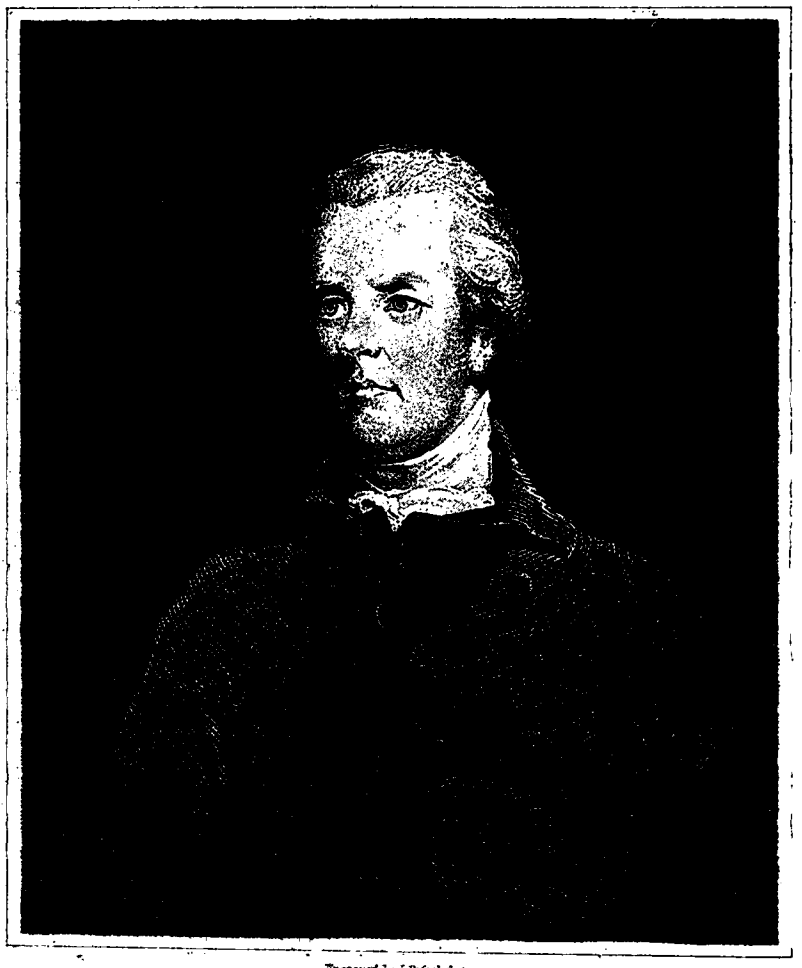
His Death.

Brougham's Statesmen, &c. Lord Wellesley.

Life of Wilberforce, iii. 246.

Ib., iii. 249.

Hansard, vi. 128.



Engraved by J. Posselwhite.

WILLIAM PITT.

From a Picture by Hoppner in the possession of the Publisher.

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man, in the face of such an issue as appeared now to be awaiting his statesmanship. From such a judgment as can be formed from the earlier portion of his administrative career, we may suppose that he would have been a great Peace Minister. Unhappily, his lot fell in a time of inevitable war; and he proved that a war-administration was no field for him. Those who give him up as a War Minister, admire him as a financier. It is clear that the economic progress of the nation was steady and remarkable during the early and peaceful portion of his government; and the expenditure was moderate, and not on the increase, till the war broke out. His improved Sinking Fund would have entitled him to the national gratitude, if he could have provided security that the million per annum laid by should be really a surplus: but the plan since resorted to of borrowing money for that fund—itself destined to pay off debt—has covered the scheme with ridicule, if not reprobation, in which Mr. Pitt's memory ought to have no share.—As an orator, we must conclude from the united testimony of hearers of every order, that he was not to be surpassed. That of Fox on a certain occasion was that "if Demosthenes had been present, he must have admired, and might have envied." The most strenuous opponents of his policy found the House of Commons very desolate when its roof no longer echoed back the voice which stirred the spirit as much as its articulate utterance roused the whole mind, through all its range of faculties. The composure of manner and dignity of bearing which were maintained throughout his most stimulating addresses added prodigiously to their power. How both enhanced the charm of his social intercourses we can conceive after reading what was said of him by the pure and conscientious Wilberforce after a life-long observation of his mind and character. "Mr. Pitt had foibles, and of course they were not diminished by so long a continuance in office; but for a clear and comprehensive view of the most complicated subject in all its relations; for that fairness of mind which disposes a man to follow out, and when overtaken, to recognise the truth; for magnanimity, which made him ready to change his measures when he thought the good of the country required it, though he knew he should be charged with inconsistency on account of the change; for willingness to give a fair hearing to all that could be urged against his own opinions, and to listen to the suggestions of men whose understanding he knew to be inferior to his own; for personal purity, disinterestedness, integrity, and love of his country,—I have never known his equal."

1804-6.

Life of Wilberforce, iii. 249.

CHAPTER VII.

1801-6. THREE months before the date at which our History opens, the Governor General of India, the Marquess Wellesley, wrote to Mr. Addington, "My brother Arthur has distinguished himself most brilliantly." This brother Arthur was then thirty years of age; and his fame came in with the century which his deeds will render illustrious in European history. What he had now done was to prove that his forces could deal with the light troops of roving cavalry which were the main reliance of the enemy in India, as well as with regular armies and fortified cities. This had never been proved before, and, as the Marquess Wellesley observed, "This is a most important object. The only power of any importance in India is the Mahratta. Their force, of any value, consists entirely of cavalry, precisely of the nature of that destroyed by Colonel Wellesley." A war was now impending with this only power of any importance in India. To understand the grounds of the very serious conflict in which the rising soldier won his first extraordinary victories, it is necessary to glance at the natural conditions of the area in which the great conflict took place; and at the causes of the quarrel.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, i. 268. ARTHUR WELLESLEY IN INDIA.

The Peninsula of India is divided from the upper part of our possessions there by a chain of mountains, the Vindhya range. The upper part, north of this range, is Hindoostán proper: the lower triangular peninsula is the Deckan. In the upper part, we find eastwards the great basin of the Ganges, with its innumerable streams, its rank vegetation and rich culture, and its race of inhabitants raised by the geological circumstances above the other inhabitants of India in intelligence and the arts of life. There, in the seasons of inundation, are seen the villages clustered on the rising grounds, surrounded by a wide waste of waters, through which appear the tops of the forests under whose shade the inhabitants live when the waters have gone down. There spread the rice fields, and the impenetrable jungles to which the wild beasts descend from the hills when the waters have gone down; and there are interspersed the towns where our western race has carried its knowledge and its arts.—From Bengal and Bahar the surface rises to a table land which, drained by the slope, and enjoying a cooler climate, produces crops of wheat and other

HINDUSTAN.

European grains, with the rice, tobacco, cotton, and indigo, which are the growth of tropical countries. The palm disappears; and almonds, peaches, figs, and Chinese and English fruits, take its place. The trees shed their leaves in December, and forests are rare up to the skirts of the Himalaya mountains on the north. In this division lie the great cities which were the capitals of the mightiest Indian potentates before Europeans set foot in the country—Canoge, which once occupied an area equal to that of London, Cawnpoor, Agra, Delhi, and others. Westwards, the country sinks into a series of sandy plains, stretching to the basin of the Indus. In that tract there are no mountains, nor, therefore, rivers, nor rains; and it is, of course, barren. At the beginning of the century, this was considered our natural frontier on the west of Hindustán. 1801-6.

THE DECKAN.

As for the Peninsula, bounded on the north, as we have said, by the Vindhya range, and having the sea round all the rest of it—its shores are low and rugged, forming a belt between the sea and the mountain ranges, called Ghâts, which follow the form of the peninsula, for the most part. This low and rugged strip is narrowest on the western side, commanded by Bombay and Goa. The Ghâts are highest on that side; and it is easily conceived that their passes, which are few and difficult, are of the utmost importance to the command of the interior. That interior is a vast table land—another natural seat of the ancient powers of India. This table-land is traversed by rivers, most of which flow eastwards, as the eastern coast, commanded by Madras, is the least precipitous. Only one very large river runs westwards, and that one—the Nerbudda—flows in a hollow formed between the northern range, the Vindhya, and the parallel range of the Sâtpoora mountains. The two great rivers which run eastwards are the Godavery and the Kistna. They divide not only the table land but its characteristics. North and east of the Godavery, the country is one vast forest region, where villages and tracts of cultivated land appear like islands in an ocean. South-west of the Godavery, down to the Kistna, exposure and cultivation are the rule, and woods are the exception. Here, trains of laden bullocks, coming up from the coasts, are seen emerging from the passes, having little or no descent to make, though they had had weary work climbing the steeps from the other side; and, on the other hand, travellers bound for the coast enter the passes straight from the comparatively cool and fresh interior, and go down and down into heat and closeness and rank tropical vegetation, or burning rocks and sands, till they can hardly believe that they have not changed their latitude.

Some persons consider the Deckan to terminate at the Kistna, and not to include the point of the peninsula; but the distinction is of no importance to us here, and the character of the country

1801-6. does not appear to bear it out. The great table-land of Mysore, the country of Tippoo Sultán, where stands his great city of Seringapatam, seems of a piece with the rest, though it is south of the Kistna; and so is a good deal of the Carnatic, to the east of Mysore. The strip of low land between the western Ghâts and the sea is called by the general name of Malabar, though it was divided among various powers when the century opened.—Such was the area of the coming conflict in 1800. A clear comprehension of it helps us to understand the position and operations of the parties concerned in the great Mahratta war, in which the "brother Arthur" was to win his fame.

It was now no longer a question whether England was to hold her Indian empire. Whether she liked it or not, and whatever it cost her, there she was (represented by a little nation of her soldier and merchant sons), and there she must remain, and act for the best. The native potentates had always quarrelled among themselves; and their wars would be internecine if she now withdrew (supposing withdrawal to be otherwise possible). There were statesmen at home who, in their hearts, wished that a cloud had for ever hidden that peninsula from western eyes: but it could not now be helped. England had millions of subjects there who must be protected, and allies who could not be deserted. This necessity led on that of conquest: and the Subsidiary System of Marquess Wellesley was the natural consequence; and not only the natural consequence, but, as is now generally agreed, the policy which was the wisest and the most humane.

Subsidiary System.

The potentates and their peoples in India hated the British with the natural hatred which follows the footsteps of foreign intruders, and the conquests of foreign victors: and they were thus ready to join against the British, and eager for the French alliance, while they were fighting among themselves about questions of succession, or some other cause of feud. It was impossible to leave them to themselves, with any regard to the safety of our own fellow-subjects there; and yet, no one desired that they should be so slavishly humbled as to be annexed to our empire unconditionally, and in a heterogeneous mass which it might be difficult to rule, and impossible to civilize. Lord Wellesley's policy was to use every occasion on which we were compelled to interfere with an Indian state, (to defend ourselves, or to put a stop to exterminating violence), to render such a state subsidiary to us, while preserving its native rulers, religion, and customs. When he had conquered an invading or intriguing neighbour, Lord Wellesley installed a government, subject to control in matters of state importance, and compelled the government to make a perpetual treaty, by the terms of which it was agreed that a Political Resident, and a certain armed force under British command, should be maintained at the expense of the tributary state. By this method of management,

the conquered peoples preserved their modes of living, and had their own sovereign continually before their eyes; and were therefore spared some of the mortifications and hardships of conquest: but their freedom and dignity were as completely gone as if all had been trampled down together under the march of British armies. The Opposition in parliament had in this system an inexhaustible theme of complaint and reprobation against Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington and their administrations, who supported the Wellesleys in their Indian policy and all that Opposition could say of the fact of the despotism, and of the violation of the rights of states, as conceived of in Europe, was true and incontrovertible. The question was whether the wrong and misery of pursuing any other course was not greater. It seems now to be generally agreed that the Wellesley policy was the best, under the sad conditions of the case. But at the time, even the majority in the India Company were so opposed to it that Lord Wellesley once resigned his government, and only remained in office at the earnest entreaty of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington.—At the opening of the century, the conquests and control which we had obtained were making necessary more conquests and more control; as a slight sketch of the personages and the circumstances will show. 1801-6.

THE MAHRATTAS.

The Mahrattas were originally a hardy mountaineer tribe, who rose into importance in the time of the great Aurungzebe. Their strong leader, Sevajee, founded their empire, and died in 1682. During the latter part of the last century, the Mahratta empire rapidly declined; and, when Lord Wellesley went to India, it was split into portions which had to be separately dealt with. At the opening of the period we are now to survey, those portions were five, under as many chiefs. The five chiefs were the Peishwa, Bhoonsla, Holkar, Scindia, and Guickwar. Let us see who these men were—where they were placed—and what was our concern with them.

FIVE CHIEFS.

THE PEISHWA.

The Peishwa means the Prime Minister. This indicates that that there was a sovereign. There was a nominal sovereign of the Mahrattas—the Rajah of Sattara; but he had no power, and was mentioned at all only because his powerful subjects revered royalty of race. The Prime Minister ruled; and the office of Prime Minister was made hereditary.—Near the edge of the table land of the Deckan, not very far from Bombay, is Poonah, a fortress situated in a rich and flourishing region, which the Peishwa (the greatest man of the five, and their acknowledged head) had obtained from the helpless Rajah, and from conquered neighbours. Though treated as the head of the Mahratta chieftains, the Peishwa was yet weak and untrustworthy. Sometimes he could not hold his ground but by British aid: sometimes he leaned to France, and had to be watched: sometimes he was under the dictation of his confederate Scindia. No reliance could be placed on either his

1801-6. power or his good-will. But there he was at Poonah, holding his court, and enjoying the reputation and ostentation of being the greatest man of the Mahrattas.

Bhoonsla, Rajah of Berar.

The second in order (not in greatness) of the five was Bhoonsla. He had been Commander-in-Chief under the poor Rajah, and, like the Prime Minister, was tempted to make himself an independent prince. His territory was Berar, on the north-east of Poonah—a part of the table land lying under the mountain boundary, and consisting mainly of the forest land, sprinkled with villages and cultivation, which has been described. In the war which was approaching, this Berar Rajah was expected to look northwards, over the mountain boundary, towards Benares, and other rich cities on the Ganges and the Jumna, and also to the east, to secure the coast from the attacks of the British, and to facilitate the access of French allies.

Holkar.

The great soldier Holkar was the third. He was not in the Deckan, his territory being the rich province of Malwa, on the north of the Vindhya chain, and including a portion of that range. Holkar was at war with the next on the list, Scindia, at the beginning of the century; and no enemies could be more furious against each other than were these Mahratta chieftains. Their quarrel was about the succession to Holkar's province—Scindia having killed a brother of Holkar's, and Holkar, himself illegitimate, now carrying on war on behalf of an infant heir. He thought he could best mortify Scindia by humbling the Peishwa; and he marched to Poonah to do so, in 1801. He succeeded so abundantly that the Peishwa sent a supplication to the British government, entreating support, in return for which he would become tributary to the East India Company. Lord Wellesley was glad of such an opening; and the agreement was presently made. It was thought a good opportunity to make alliances with as many of the Mahratta chiefs as could be won: and an ambassador was sent to Scindia, the great supporter of the Peishwa. Holkar placed on the musnud (or throne) a puppet sovereign, in whose name, apparently without his will, affairs were transacted at Poonah—the Peishwa being conveyed by the Bombay government to a place of safety.—But Mysore was now in danger from the victorious Holkar being so near; and a British force was sent, under Lord Clive, to watch the Mahratta frontier. The Bombay troops were also kept in readiness for action, as occasion might arise. All this time, Holkar and Scindia both earnestly sought alliance with the British, as a means, no doubt, of security against each other.

Scindia.

Scindia, the fourth on our list, was even a more renowned warrior than Holkar. His territory adjoined that of Holkar, being the north-western portion of the Deckan, including Kandeish and

Guickwar.

a part of Malwa. The fifth chieftain, Guickwar, had Guzerat, the peninsula in the western sea, north-west of the Deckan. The terri-

tories of the five chieftains thus extended from Delhi to the Kistna, a length of 970 miles; and from the Bay of Bengal to the Gulf of Cambay, a breadth of 900 miles. They ruled over a population of 40,000,000; and their armies comprehended 210,000 infantry, and 100,000 cavalry. They had the assistance of French officers and troops; and Scindia had made such presents of territory to M. Perron, a French officer, on the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, as in fact constituted a French state in the midst of the richest regions of the north. To make war with the Mahratta chiefs was therefore to carry on in India the war with France, into which England had re-entered after the peace of Amiens. 1801-6. THEIR EMPIRE.

It has been seen that the Bombay government gave a refuge to the Peishwa when Holkar drove him from Poonah; and that an army of observation was sent to save Mysore in the south from Holkar. The Peishwa made a treaty with the English (called the Treaty of Bassein) on the last day of 1802, by which he bound himself to perpetual alliance with the British, if they would restore him. The great Mahratta war began with the attempt to do this. 1802.

Scindia and Bhoonsla, being alarmed at the demonstrations of the British, urged Holkar to join them, laying aside Mahratta quarrels to repel the great common enemy, as they considered the British; and they spared no pains to draw off the Peishwa himself, their tool and victim, from his alliance with England. As Scindia had some possessions and great power in Guzerat, Guickwar's territory, it will be seen that the impending war was in fact between the British and the confederated Mahratta chieftains, who were in the interest of France.

Having thus surveyed the area and the parties, we now come to the war.

On the frontier, between Mysore and the South Mahratta country, is Hurryhur; and there was stationed the British army of observation, under the command of General Stuart. After the treaty of Bassein, the General was desired to detach a considerable force, and send them into the Mahratta country. The command of this detachment was given to the "brother Arthur," of whom the Governor-General was so proud. Major-General Wellesley was peculiarly fitted for the service now appointed to him by his local knowledge, gained in the Mysore war, and by his influence with the Mahratta chiefs. And wherever he went, some other qualifications won for him the respect and confidence of the inhabitants. He repressed license in his troops, and was considerate beyond example to the peasantry, consulting their feelings, remembering their interests, and manifesting a steadiness of temper and calm kindness of manners which gave him more power than all his merely military qualifications, great as they were. He had been long ready for the service now required of him, having prepared, two years before, a statement of the method in which war THE MAHRATTA WAR.

1801-6. with the Mahrattas should be carried on. He had then recommended Hurryhur for the point of starting. The best season he considered to be that of the filling of the rivers which descend from the Western Ghâts, about June, as a full river would prevent the Mahratta cavalry from intercepting the supplies which must be sent after the army from Mysore, while the British would find little difficulty in passing the army over first by a pontoon-bridge, and supplies afterwards by basket-boats. At that season, too, there would be least of that deficiency of water which was one of the chief hardships of war with the Mahrattas. Their land afforded plenty of straw for the horses, and some cattle for human food; but the main supplies of rice must come from Mysore; and also the arrack. For two years, these and other conditions of the war had
1803. been studied and prepared; and now, on the 9th of March, 1803, the campaign was begun by the march from Hurryhur of nearly 10,000 cavalry and infantry, besides the requisite artillery, and 2,500 of Mysore cavalry. A large force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stevenson, was to meet him from Hydrabad; and they must make the best of the bad season of the year, it being now nearly three months earlier than the time that General Wellesley would have chosen for the commencement of operations. Every facility was, however, afforded by the petty chiefs through whose country the army passed, as General Wellesley was popular with them in the highest degree. By the middle of April, the two forces were near each other, on the approach to Poonah, whence Holkar was in retreat, having left orders with the tools whom he had put into power there to destroy the city on the appearance of the British army.* "I expect to be at Poonah some time about the 20th," wrote General Wellesley, on hearing this news; and on the 20th he was there, after a memorable forced march, rendered extremely difficult by the badness of the road down the Ghât. While his carriages were breaking down, or sticking fast in black mud, the authorities at Poonah withdrew: but the city was saved from its doom of burning, while the British were in possession of an exceedingly strong post: "in a position from which nothing can drive us," as the General wrote. With all its delays, the march upon Poonah was effected in thirty-two hours. The inhabitants flocked in from the mountains, where they had hidden themselves; and the Peishwa was restored without delay, entering his capital on the 13th of May, amidst prodigious demonstrations of joy. On the next day, the opinion of General Wellesley was that there were no hopes of a speedy return to Mysore, but that the business of the Mahrattas would be settled without hostility, and pretty soon. When this declaration was written, negotiations were going on with Scindia at his camp, amidst the strongest professions, on his part, of good-will and peaceable intentions. But these professions were false; and, in another month, the necessity for war with Scindia and his ally,

Wellington Despatches, i. 480.

Poonah saved.

Wellington Despatches, i. 572.

Negotiations.

Bhoonsla of Berar, was apparent. It was clear that they were in alliance with Holkar, and that they were stimulating their French coadjutor, M. Perron, to aid them, not only by his own resources, but by obtaining the help of the mountain tribes of the north-west. On the discovery of this confederacy, it was thought necessary to place full political and military authority, in relation to the affairs of the Deckan, in the hands of some one on the spot, who should be subject only to the Governor-General: and there could be no doubt that General Wellesley was the man to whom this post should be confided. He received this new trust on the 26th of June. 1801-6.

During July, much negotiation with the chiefs went on, the main result of which was that every body was convinced of the utter duplicity of Scindia and Bhoonsla, and that their object was, by any means, to get the British forces marched back to some safe distance, before the periodical rains, which would make it impossible for them to reoccupy their present stations for some months. By lengthening out the negotiations, too, time was given for a great French force, under the care of Admiral Linois, to land at Pondicherry, and pass into the territory of M. Perron and his native allies. By the Amiens Treaty, Pondicherry, and the other former possessions of France and of Holland in the Indies, had been restored, without any of the former limitations of the force to be sent there. This great oversight of Mr. Addington and his colleagues, the Wellesleys repaired, as far as they could, by assiduously watching Pondicherry and the neighbouring coasts. No French troops left Pondicherry during the negotiations with the Mahratta chiefs; and before these negotiations were concluded, the news arriving of the breaking out of the war with France, the troops just landed were all made prisoners. About the same time, the Nizam, the chief Prince of the Deckan, and an ally of the British, was known to be dying; and the confederated chiefs were well understood to be waiting only for his death to take the succession to his territories into their own hands. Understanding all these things, General Wellesley saw war to be inevitable, and was anxious to make it as brief and effectual as possible. Before the British Ambassador had left the camp of Scindia, on the final rupture of the negotiations, a magnificent plan of a campaign had been laid by the brothers Wellesley, and the preparations so matured, in profound secresy, as to allow the enemy no time to look about them. This was well; for the Nizam died on the day that our Ambassador left Scindia's camp.

PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

The plan of the campaign is easily understood; for it was as simple as it was grand. The confederates were to be simultaneously and immediately attacked at all points. Their whole united empire was to be, as it were, surrounded. A glance at the map

1801-6 will show how this was done; how, by four British armies, all victorious, the business was finished in five months.

GENERAL WELLESLEY IN THE DECKAN.

First: Generals Wellesley and Campbell and Colonel Stevenson undertook Scindia and his great combined army in the Deckan. Scindia was at the foot of the Adjuntee pass, which we see among the mountains north of Aurungabad, in the north-west part of the Deckan. General Wellesley, with his force of near 17,000 men, was near Poonah, when the British Ambassador left Scindia's camp. He marched without delay—on the 8th of August; and on the 12th had obtained possession of the strong fortress and town of Ahmednuggur; by which conquest he secured his communication with Poonah, and an open passage for provisions and other stores, *August*, 1803. and a depôt for them. He crossed the Godavery on the 24th, and on the 29th arrived at Aurungabad. Colonel Stevenson was to the east of him: but the enemy passed between them, intending to cross the Godavery, and march upon Hydrabad, the capital of the deceased Nizam. Colonel Stevenson marched down towards the enemy, and General Wellesley followed the bank of the river towards the south-east; and Scindia therefore fell back northwards. He was joined by large reinforcements near Jaffierabad. The British generals effected a junction by the 21st of September at Budnapoor, a little to the east of Aurungabad, whence they intended to march and attack Scindia on the 24th. They set out round the hills, Colonel Stevenson by the western, and General

BATTLE OF ASSYE, *September*, 23.

Wellesley by the eastern road. On the morning of the 23rd, the latter had information that the combined Mahratta force was within six miles of him. Lest they should get away in the night, and thus elude the general action which he desired to bring on, he determined to attack them at once, without waiting for the arrival of Colonel Stevenson. His army would then have marched twenty miles to the field where the Mahrattas had been resting. His force consisted of 4,500 men, while that of the enemy was between thirty and forty thousand. With this small force, he

Wellington Despatches, ii. 323-326.

fought and gained the celebrated battle of Assye.—The Mahrattas, after some manœuvres, posted themselves between the village of Assye and the river Kaitna. After a slaughterous conflict of three hours, during which the Mahrattas rallied again and again, they fled in the direction of the Adjuntee pass, leaving the country strewed with their dead and wounded. They left the conqueror in possession of 98 pieces of cannon, 7 standards, their whole camp equipage, droves of bullocks and camels, and large stores of ammunition and provision. Of the British, 600 were killed, and 1,500 wounded: a heavy loss out of so small a force, though trifling in comparison with that of the enemy. Colonel Stevenson came up in the evening, to find that his colleague had utterly routed a force six times as great as his own. He was too late, unhappily, to

share the glory of the field of Assye: but he did what he could in pursuing the foe.—The Mahrattas did not ascend the Adjuntee pass, but moved westwards, as if to threaten Poonah. General Wellesley followed them, as soon as he had taken care of his wounded and of his prey; and directed Colonel Stevenson to get possession of the strong hill fortress of Asseerghur, called the key of the Deckan, and of Burhampoor, a little to the south of it. This was done without difficulty—Burhampoor surrendering on the 16th, and Asseerghur on the 17th of October.—Meantime, the General was following the enemy, who had made two long marches southwards, as if intending to levy contributions on the Nizam's cities, or to attack Poonah, while the British were occupied with the northern forts. This, as General Wellesley observed, would not be very pleasant; and he therefore left the service in the north to Colonel Stevenson, while he kept on the track of the Mahratta army, undeceived by their stratagems, and never drawn aside by their feints. After many marchings, by which nothing was gained by Scindia, he begged a truce; and between the 11th and 23rd of November, a truce was arranged. But it presently appeared that Scindia's horse were to be seen in Bhoonsla's army. He had broken faith so completely, that no further consideration could be shown him. The battle of Argaum finished the humiliation of the confederates in this quarter.—At the end of a long march on a hot day, the General and his troops saw the forces of the enemy drawn out in a long line, far in front of them, with villages and gardens behind them, and the plain of Argaum in front. The British were led against them immediately; and they found the line to be long indeed—not less than five miles. It was presently broken by the onset of the British; and the result of a conflict till dark was, that the Mahrattas and their Persian reinforcements fled, leaving behind them 38 pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition. The British loss was small, and the triumph great; the cavalry scouring the country by moonlight, dispersing more widely the flying enemy, and sending into camp elephants, camels, and much baggage.—One more achievement remained. The great fortress of Gawulghur, supposed impregnable, was taken by the combined forces of Colonel Stevenson and General Wellesley. It was stormed on the 15th of December.—Bhoonsla could hold out no longer. He sued immediately for a separate peace; and the treaty was signed on the 17th.—By this treaty, the province of Cuttack was annexed to the British dominions in India, and provision was made against the French, or any other enemy of England, fighting against us, under the colours of the Rajah of Berar. Other advantages were obtained; for the Rajah was completely humbled.—In a few days, Scindia also submitted, and his treaty was signed on the 30th of December. He was driven out of the Deckan, except by the foothold of one fort and one city; and forbidden to

1801-6.

October.

November.

BATTLE OF ARGAUM.

Despatches, ii. 558.

December.

Despatches, ii. 588.

PEACE WITH BHOONSLA.

WITH SCINDIA.

1801-6. interfere in any affairs there: he was deprived of some strong places and of his territory in the Douab, in Hindustán, and of possessions elsewhere; and he was bound, like Bhoonsla, to admit no European enemy of Great Britain into his army or civil service. Scindia was to receive the aid and protection afforded by the subsidiary connexion with Great Britain which the Governor-General was extending over India. From our ally or foe, he had brought himself to be our dependant. The fall was sad, for one so haughty; but his double-dealing, from first to last, deprived him of much of the compassion of his conqueror.

Such were the achievements of one of the four armies.

Col. Murray in Guzerat.

Looking up westwards, we find Col. Murray commanding the force in Guzerat, amounting to about 7,000 men. He was reinforced in August by some troops from Bombay, under Lieut.-Col. Woodington. Wherever these forces were distributed, they carried all before them, capturing Scindia's forts, and reducing the strongest of all—Baroach, near the mouth of the Nerbudda. The Guickwar, who appears to have been passive during the proceedings, was protected in his dominion. Baroach was taken on the 29th of August; and from that time, the Mahrattas made no effectual resistance in the north-west. All was over with Scindia there before the battle of Assye was fought.

August.

Gen. Lake in Hindustan.

Turning northwards, we find the British forces equally successful in Hindustán. General Lake was invested with the same full authority there that had been given to General Wellesley in the Deckan. When it appeared, in August, that there was to be no truce with Scindia, General Lake turned his forces against the French state formed in the Douab, and given to M. Perron. To the mortification of the British troops, the French hastily retreated, when a battle was expected. M. Perron lost reputation irretrievably by this move: and the French power in India never recovered from the shock of the disgrace. Coel and Alleghur may be seen to the south-east of Delhi. It was at Coel that Perron retreated, leaving General Lake in possession of the place. The General turned at once to the strong fortress of Alleghur, which was taken by storm, under the command of Colonel Monson, on the morning of the 4th of September. Of the enemy 2,000 were left dead. M. Perron had lived here; and his treasure and stores were found. The Commandant was taken prisoner; and, three days afterwards, Perron put himself and his family under British protection, complaining bitterly of the duplicity and treachery with which he was treated on every hand. He was received with kindness and honour, and conveyed, as he desired, to Lucknow. On the 11th, Scindia's northern army, amounting to 20,000 infantry and cavalry, with the requisite artillery, were found to have crossed the Jumna in the night, in order to attack the British before they recovered from the fatigues of a long march.

August.

Successes.

September.

1801-6.

The British were only 4,500; and of these very few were really European. They had marched eighteen miles, while the enemy, fivefold in strength, were fresh and prepared: and the affair was so sudden, that it was an hour before the infantry could come up to the support of the cavalry, which had suffered grievously meantime. —The junction was effected by a pretended retreat of the cavalry—natural enough if it had been true. The feint served the double purpose of effecting the junction, and of drawing the enemy out of a strong position. The enemy rushed on, bringing their guns with them, and shouting victory. The British infantry passed through the cavalry, which immediately formed behind; and then, the whole line of infantry marched on, their general at their head, through the tremendous fire of the enemy, and charged with bayonets, after firing a volley within 100 paces of the foe. The enemy broke and fled: the British infantry opened their line, to let the cavalry pass through; and this second charge completed the business. The loss of the enemy, on the field and in the river, was three-fourths that of the entire British force. The whole of their artillery, and much ammunition and treasure, were left in our possession. This is the celebrated battle of Delhi—so called because the minarets of Delhi were in view from the field, and not because the city was concerned in the conflict. The French officers in command surrendered within three days; and on the fourth day after the battle, General Lake went to visit, at Delhi, the deposed sovereign, Shah Aulum, whom he was now to restore. All Delhi presented an impassable crowd of happy Mussulmans on this occasion; and the spectacle of the old descendant of Tamerlane and Aurungzebe was all the more affecting. He was blind, feeble, of pauper appearance, and seated under a tattered canopy—the last relic of royalty that he had preserved from Scindia and the French. He was now emperor again; and he gave the second title of his empire to General Lake. By the restoration of the Mogul Emperor, the British acquired the favour of the whole Mohammedan interest in India.—The battles of Muttra and Agra followed—by which the navigation of the Jumna was secured, and a vast amount of treasure and stores captured. Then followed an extraordinary march, during which the spirit of General and soldiers seems to have made them incapable of injury from heat and fatigue. The object was great—to overtake and engage the residue of the enemy's force,—amounting to a large army—so as to prevent it from falling upon Delhi. By a series of rapid and long marches, this was done; and the brilliant course of General Lake's victories was closed by that of Laswarree. In two days and nights, his soldiers had marched 65 miles; and they had been sixteen hours under arms when the battle began. It was a hard struggle, and a murderous one. Throughout this great Mahratta war, indeed, we must guard ourselves against supposing the enemy to have been contemptible, because they were

BATTLE OF DELHI.

RESTORATION OF THE MOGUL SOVEREIGN

BATTLE OF LASWARREE.

November.

1801-6. every where beaten. The Mahrattas had bravery and military genius; and they were aided by the military science of France. On occasion of this battle of Laswarree, their guns were admirably served, and it was hard for the victors to say what had been wanting to the resources of the vanquished. Yet was the defeat signal. The enemy would not give way till they had lost all their guns; and even then, they endeavoured to retreat in good order. Two thousand of them were made prisoners; and it appeared as if almost all the rest were killed or wounded. Every thing they possessed fell into the hands of the British. The demolition of Scindia's power in this quarter was as complete as elsewhere. This battle took place on the 1st of November; after Colonel Stevenson had taken Asseerghur, and while General Wellesley was following Scindia to and fro, before the battle of Argaum.—In this battle occurred one of those incidents which let us more into the character of warrior life than volumes of description or reports. General Lake's horse was shot under him: his son offered his—pressed his father, for some time in vain, to mount it. At length he, very properly, did so, and the son mounted that of a trooper at hand. At the very moment, the young man was struck down by a shot; and not for an instant could his father stay to learn his fate. He must head the infantry; and he did so, without a sign of faltering. It was not till the end of the battle that he knew that his son was likely to live. His name stood beside that of General Wellesley, in all the records of the Mahratta war; and his deeds in Hindustán fairly rivalled those done in the Deckan. The citizens of Calcutta presented swords to him and to General Wellesley together; and when the British parliament voted thanks to all the parties concerned in this wonderful war in India, the King created General Lake a peer, while making General Wellesley a Knight of the Bath.

Annual Reg., 1804, p. 232.

Honours.

Annual Register, 1804, p. 238.

Lieut.-Col. Harcourt in Cuttack.

We have still to look to the eastern region of the war, where Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt was trying what the British arms could do in Cuttack. It was of eminent importance to secure the province of Cuttack, or, at least, to keep a way open through it, for the sake of free communication between Calcutta and the governments of Madras and Bombay; and Poonah, and Hydrabad, and General Wellesley's army. The French fleet was now riding the seas: and the resource of uninterrupted communication by land was most desirable. This was achieved—as completely and well as every other part of the great scheme. A body of 3,000 men set forth from Ganjam, on the coast, under Colonel Harcourt, while smaller parties marched to meet them from different points, or kept watch against the light troops of Bhoonsla. On the 14th of September, the city of Munickpatam surrendered to Colonel Harcourt, and it was clear that Bhoonsla would be punished in this direction as effectually as by General Wellesley at the other

1801-6.

end of his dominions. On the 18th of September, a curious acquisition was made by the British. Towering over the salt sands of the coast, and visible from far out at sea, stands the Pagoda of Juggernaut, to which so many pilgrims come once a year as to create a famine along their route, and leave the bodies of thousands to putrefy by the wayside. It was now that the British became answerable for that which has since caused so much concern and remonstrance—their countenance of a cruel paganism; for now the priests of Juggernaut came to entreat the British to take them and their temple under their protection. Colonel Harcourt took possession, and marched on, meeting now with little further opposition. The fortress of Barabuttee was taken on the 14th of October; and then the whole province of Cuttack was in British possession. The coast was ours, from the Hooghly to Pondicherry: and there was no point in all that line where the French could land without meeting a foe. The interior was open to the British in all directions. The French officers were our prisoners, and seeking our protection. Their artillery was in our hands, and their Indian allies, protégés or employers, were suppliants for mercy from the English generals. Thus did the "brother Arthur" begin his war against the French: that war which he was to conclude at Waterloo. The beginning had the same character of comprehensiveness and decision as the end. Our forces came in upon the Mahratta princes from the sea, the mountains, and the forests—over the salt sands of Cuttack, and the high plains of the Deckan, and through the passes of the Ghâts, and over the rivers of Hindustán, and out of the rank swamps of the basin of the Ganges. They came up thus at one moment, leaving no gap in the scheme, making no failure, hemming in the aggressors, and driving them hither and thither, like the wild beasts that are driven in by the hunters. When the final humiliation took place, the victors looked on from the heights of the Himalaya and from the southern Ghâts; from the bastions of Baroach, and the minarets of Delhi, and the pagoda galleries of Juggernaut. It was a prodigious scheme—that of the Mahratta war—and magnificently executed. The Subsidiary System of Lord Wellesley received a sudden and vast enlargement; for all this was done in a campaign of five months. It belongs to a future time to review the consequences of this great acquisition of territory by the East India Company, and their methods of managing the new and prodigious vassalage which thus suddenly accrued to them. It need only be pointed out that now, on the acquisition of the province of Cuttack, whose low shores are white and glistening with salt, began the monstrous evil of the salt monopoly, which caused a formidable rebellion some years afterwards, and is yet an unsettled affair. The time was coming when the inhabitants, living on a vegetable diet which renders salt indispensable to the

September SUCCESSES.

October.

RESULTS OF CAMPAIGN.

SALT MONOPOLY.

1801-6. preservation of health, should die by hundreds for want of it, while it was caking the shore for miles before their eyes.

1804. TREATIES.

The humbled Mahratta potentates signed themselves vassals, under the form of ratifying their treaties of peace—Bhoonsla on Christmas-day 1803, and Scindia, a few days after. In January and February the treaties were ratified by the Governor-General in Council; and proclamation was forthwith made throughout India, of peace with the Mahratta princes. The rejoicings were profuse, throughout the whole of India. At Calcutta, the citizens erected a marble statue of the Governor-General, and conferred honours on his generals. In Europe, it was felt that much had been done for our national reputation, not only by the splendid conduct of the war, but by the moderation of the terms of peace. While points of command were reserved by the Company, and such territory as was indispensable to the security of its own subjects, the Mahratta chiefs were allowed to enjoy every thing else, subject only to conditions which would prevent their being mischievous again. They were made vassals, and allowed to be rich in possessions; and not made prisoners or slaves, dependent for life and food on their conquerors. Their days of rude and turbulent independence were over; but they did not fall into the crushing gripe of a Cromwell, but passed into the Subsidiary System of a Wellesley. By Resolutions of Parliament, the rulers of India had long been precluded from making conquests in India for the sake of territorial aggrandizement; but when compelled, as now, to conquer in self-defence—to conduct a war with France on Asiatic soil—it could not have been wondered at if the Mahratta princes had been more severely treated.

HOLKAR INSURGENT.

They were not all done with yet. Holkar, an illegitimate son, and with all the restlessness and suspicion of aspirants under that disqualification—the leader of troops whom he had not means to maintain—was still dangerous, because he must always be unsatisfied. He must sink to nothing, or live by predatory warfare; and the British government could not allow its subjects or its allies to be annoyed by predatory warfare. There was then no ground for peace between this freebooter and the government: and it soon appeared that the task remained of subduing him. Much of the Deckan having been ravaged by war, he was even in more want than usual; and in the spring of 1804, he was actually plundering the Jeynagur territories, in preparation for an attack on the rich city of that name, which was within the territories of our ally, the Nizam. At the same time, he was tempting Scindia and various rajahs to join him in arms against the British, and carry on a predatory warfare, in which he said he should proceed, whether they joined him or not. Scindia's chief minister made known this overture, officially, to the British government, soon after the conclusion of the peace: so that, in preparing to curb Holkar, the Governor-

General proceeded on sure ground. He had thus far been merciful, 1801-6
expressly forbidding "brother Arthur," in the preceding June, to urge hostilities against Holkar, for indemnity for plunder perpetrated in support of the other Mahratta chiefs: but now there must be no further tampering with danger from the freebooter. The worst of any outbreak of hostilities in India is that there is no saying where the matter will end. One discontented potentate or another is sure to join in, and extend the quarrel, and protract the conflict. But Holkar was already tampering with so many that the mischief was doing, whether covered with the name of peace or war. The Governor-General resolved to try whether he could not make it the interest of Holkar to keep quiet; and thus put an end to the prevalent apprehension from him, and to the necessity of keeping up an expensive military establishment for the sake of holding him in check.

Negotiation was begun and responded to. But, during the very days when Holkar was promising to withdraw his troops within his own dominions, and to keep them at safe distance from those of the allies of the British, he wrote letters, which were intercepted and brought to the Governor-General, to the allies and subjects of the Company, exciting them to revolt, and declaring his intention to send a force to ravage the territories of the British. He was informed that these letters had been intercepted, and once more and finally invited to lay aside his guilty schemes, and to enter into a true alliance with the British government. He sent ambassadors to propose terms so extravagant, and offered in a manner so offensive, as to show that he desired them to be rejected. On their rejection, his ambassadors intimated that they were ready to listen to offers of territory and money, and to report them to Holkar; but that his troops were not to be withdrawn within his own dominions. As this was an indispensable condition, the ambassadors withdrew. The forbearance of the Governor-General still afforded room for further delay, and put up with more insolence from Holkar, who sent word to General Wellesley that he would allow him no time to breathe, but would come presently and overwhelm lacs of human beings (hundreds of thousands) with his army, which could sweep and destroy like the waves of the sea. By this time, it was April: and it was necessary to begin a new campaign *April.* against Holkar. Lord Lake and General Wellesley reduced him; the first by a series of rapid marches, by which he brought Holkar into direct engagements in spite of every effort of the marauding chief to pursue a desultory warfare in preference; and the other, by taking his fortresses. In November, two great victories seemed *November.* to have crushed the foe. General Fraser scattered his forces, and took all his guns at Deeg—himself, however, falling in the action, which took place on the 13th of November; and four days later, Lord Lake surprised and utterly routed the whole cavalry of

1801-6. Holkar, under his own command. Holkar barely escaped, stripped of every thing: but here intervened one of those complications which are the peculiarity of Indian warfare and policy. The Rajah of Bhurtpoor, one of the subsidiary chiefs who had been the most liberally dealt with by the British government, now avowed an alliance with Holkar, and sustained him for a while. The fate of both was assured beforehand; but the confederacy protracted the war. It was not till the close of 1805, when another Governor-General had taken the place of Lord Wellesley, and had died in office, and when General Wellesley was in England, that peace with Holkar, then a reduced fugitive, was concluded.

Wellesley's Administration of India.

Party spirit ran high about the conduct of Indian affairs during the closing years of the last century, and the beginning of the present. The funded debt of the Company had largely increased, before Lord Wellesley became Governor-General, as well as since; and it remained to be proved by time whether Lord Wellesley had increased their revenue—whether he had, as he believed, doubled it—by conquest and financial arrangement. Very strong evidence was also requisite to satisfy the public mind, and that of the India Directors, that so much warfare was necessary; nothing short of necessity making it justifiable. The majority of the Directors were discontented with Lord Wellesley's administration; and he once actually resigned, as has been said; and consented to remain in office only at the earnest request of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington. This was in 1802. He stipulated to remain in office only till the beginning of 1804: but when that time arrived, the negotiations for the Mahratta peace were proceeding; and it was no moment for a change of government. He agreed to remain another year.

1805. In March, 1805, the frigate Fiorenzo was detained in the Hooghly for the purpose of conveying Lord Wellesley to England; but despatches from home, and the business of the Bhurtpoor Rajah, with whom peace was concluded in the next month, still detained him for a short time. At home, there was a great impatience to see him; and his successor was sent out, so as to arrive in July. His enemies wanted to impeach Lord Wellesley; and his friends wanted to hear him explain himself in parliament: to hear his own views publicly given of the results which he expected from the recent wars, and to know whether the finances of the Company were really in the state of embarrassment which had been represented.

Lord Cornwallis Governor-General.

His successor was Lord Cornwallis—now infirm, and nearly worn out; but as unable as he had ever shown himself to prefer his private ease and convenience to the public welfare. He had fought in the Seven Years' War; he had gained victories in America, and sustained the grief of surrendering, with his force, to the Americans and French, after holding out as long as he could. He had never approved the American war, and had avowed his disapprobation at the peril of his interests; but he did not suffer the less keenly

when his surrender at York Town proved the death-blow of the English power in America, and caused a change of Ministry and of measures at home. His virtue, however—his disinterestedness and prudence—appear to have been so unquestionable, that he did not suffer politically, or in personal character, for this misfortune; and soon after, he was Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of Bengal. The war with Tippoo distinguished his administration; and we see him the host of Tippoo's two sons, the hostages put into the hands of this kind-hearted and generous nobleman. When the Irish rebellion of 1798 broke out, we find him appealed to to go and see what could be done; and the testimony is universal as to his benevolent endeavours to put down violence, soften rancour, and rectify injustice on every hand. We have seen him in 1801 at Amiens, negotiating the peace as the British Plenipotentiary; and now, in 1805, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, we follow him to India, where he agreed to go once more, on the assurance that he was the only man who could satisfy all the parties concerned in the question of the conduct of Indian affairs. This was an extraordinary life of service and dignity to have been lived by a man whose qualifications were his virtues rather than his talents. Disinterested, moderate, prudent, brave, and benign, he commanded confidence on every hand; but he had done nothing which proved him to be qualified to be a rival to the Wellesleys, or even, perhaps, to be able to appreciate their policy and action. When he arrived, he showed every courtesy to the man he came to supersede—desiring that Lord Wellesley should receive the parting address of regret from the inhabitants of Calcutta at Government House, immediately before his own levee: but he found much to disapprove and mourn over in the condition of affairs; the pay of the troops in arrear, the finances deranged, Holkar yet untamed, and Scindia becoming troublesome again. Upon the representations which he made in due course, were founded exaggerated charges against Lord Wellesley, who was held up in the Court of Directors, and in parliament, as a wanton and warlike oppressor, who exhausted the resources of the country he was sent to govern, for the sake of deluging the neighbouring states in blood. Lord Wellesley appealed to time: and time so far justified him as that the East India Company paid him honours in his old age; voted him 20,000*l.*, with compliments on his generosity in having given up to the army that conquered Mysore five times that amount, which he might have taken as his share of the spoils; and circulated largely among their servants in India the Despatches which he published in 1837, as the best repository of knowledge and wisdom on Indian affairs. Lord Wellesley's administration was either infamous or glorious; a scheme which was irredeemably wrong unless it was eminently right. The matured opinion of nearly half a century seems to have decided in its favour: and his

1801-6.

1801-6. government in India is now looked back upon as not only—what no voice can deny—a period of extraordinary brilliancy, but as having been that which avowed, though it did not originate, the principle that must be the basis of our action and abode there: that principle which was instituted before he was born, but which he was the first to recognise clearly and completely, and to embody consistently in his policy of his Subsidiary System.

He returned to England, as has been seen, just in time to let Pitt hear his voice once more. Pitt saw him, and fainted away under the sound of his voice, and the sight of his face, though all agitating subjects were avoided. The old friends little imagined, at the moment, that Lord Cornwallis had then been long dead. Pitt did not live to hear the news that Lord Cornwallis had died on the 5th of October (1805) in Benares, on his way to take the command of the army. To the British nation, it appeared that the governments in England and India lost their head at the same time, and were left helpless and embarrassed. Those were indeed dark days, abroad and at home.

Death of Lord Cornwallis. Ann. Reg., 1805, p. 252.

CHAPTER VIII.

1806.

THE Amendment to the Address, intended to have been moved on the 21st of January, 1806, but merely read in both Houses of Parliament, declared in the most distinct terms that the state of public affairs was alarming beyond example. It intimated that the disasters abroad and grounds of apprehension at home were the fault of administration, and pledged parliament to inquire into the misconduct, and prevent its recurrence. There were two reasons for the Amendment not being moved. Lord Sidmouth, who had been for half a year openly at variance with Mr. Pitt, and who commanded forty or fifty votes, had let it be understood that he should support the Amendment: but on the afternoon of Monday the 20th, he or his party let the Whig leaders know that he could have nothing to do with it. The Prince of Wales was very angry; and his Whig friends understood this as a probable indication that the King would form the strongest Tory ministry that he could get together, if Mr. Pitt should really be dying. They looked to see Lords Hawkesbury, Sidmouth, and Castlereagh, in power very soon. Such a prospect made their amendment of more importance than ever: but there would now be some risk in pushing the matter to a division. It would have been ventured upon, however, but that it became known in the course of the day that Mr. Pitt was actually dying. When the Whig leaders met at Mr. Fox's in the afternoon, he told them that if others could enter into a discussion of Mr. Pitt's policy at such a moment, he could not. "Mentem mortalia tangunt," he said, in strong emotion. Yet it was a crisis when a suppression of opinion would have been a crime. Therefore was the Amendment simply read—by Lord Cowper in the one house, and Lord Henry Petty in the other.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT. Hansard, vi. 18.

Memoirs of Horner, i. 328.

There was something exasperating to those who understood the facts of the case in the knowledge that the calamities, actual and apprehended, of the state were owing to the King's horror of Mr. Fox—of whom he really knew little or nothing. He imagined him to be a fierce levelling republican, who, after quarrelling with the loyal Burke, and having held conversations with Napoleon at Paris, was now only waiting to overthrow the British Constitution, and trample the monarch in the dust. He knew that Mr. Pitt esteemed Fox, and would gladly have joined him in the government of the country. He suspected that Pitt would never relinquish the

THE KING'S DISLIKE OF MR. FOX.

1806. object of bringing the King and Mr. Fox face to face, because Pitt could not rule the country without the Grenvilles; and Lord Grenville would not come in without Mr. Fox. It was a point, however, on which the King's obstinate mind had been fixed, up to the present time: and the consequences had been those which were now making all hearts quake for fear.—The foreign alliance which was just broken up disastrously would never have been formed, if Lord Grenville had been in the ministry. Austria had never been ready and willing for war, as Mr. Pitt's sanguine mind had concluded that she was: she had made no effectual resistance to the French; and now she was so humbled, that if she wished it ever so much, she could resist no more. Russia had suffered both defeat from Napoleon and desertion by Austria, and had drawn her armies home. Prussia had held aloof, to see which way the luck would go. Spain and Holland were mere vassals of France. There was nothing now for Napoleon to fear on the Continent; and no great deal for him to do. He was at liberty to "crush England," as he was in the habit of saying. England did not mean to be crushed, of course: but her position was very unfavourable for such a struggle as seemed to be impending. The Catholics were so deeply discontented at the issue of the late discussion of their claims, that no sober politician would answer for the loyalty of Ireland. The Treasury was empty; and the nation was in that state of depression of spirits which makes it particularly difficult to raise money. What the administration of naval affairs had been, Lord Melville's case had shown: and there was no confidence that military affairs were going on much better under the King's pet son, the Duke of York. The political rivalship between the King and the Prince of Wales was at its height. The Prince gloried indecently in his father's difficulties; and it seemed impossible to hope that the King would take for his ministers the men who were the Prince's advisers and daily companions—the friends of the Catholic Mrs. Fitzherbert, and the pledged advocates of the Catholic body. The poor old man was now nearly blind—too nearly blind to open the session in person. He was feeble and infirm; and the Catholic question was no longer a matter of reasoning with him, but one of nerves. The Amendment to the Address might well say, "This House is perfectly sensible that the alarming and unexampled state of public affairs renders the most vigorous exertions necessary for the preservation of the empire."

ALARMING STATE OF AFFAIRS

On the day of Mr. Pitt's death, the Duke of York, usually bland and cheerful, lost his temper, was peevish and angry. This was because Mr. Pitt's staunch friend, who had caballed for him more than any other man but Canning, Lord Malmesbury, thought and said that there must be a change of ministry. The Duke would not hear of it: so Lord Malmesbury sent him his reasons in

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 356.

writing—reasons for being sure that if Mr. Pitt had been alive and well, the ministry could not have stood — feeble in itself, and oppressed with failure in every direction but on the sea: reasons which, therefore, left no doubt that now, with Mr. Pitt lying dead, nothing could be done but to form a new cabinet. Still, the image of his brother triumphing, and his brother's advisers coming in from their condition of exclusion, was too much for the pet son of the King: and he was cool towards Lord Malmesbury till he saw that every body about him, even the King was of opinion that there must be a new administration. Then, he gave way with a good grace, and acknowledged the mistake he had fallen into. 1806.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR A MINISTRY.

The first application known to have been made was to Lord Wellesley. This was somewhat daring; considering that accusations were abroad against him, and that an impeachment was threatened, on account of his Indian policy. The remnant of the Pitt Cabinet invited Lord Wellesley—of course, with the King's approbation—to undertake the conduct of affairs. He immediately refused, and made his refusal known to the Prince, who eulogized the act to Mr. Fox as one of high generosity, while others thought it might be either that, or a measure of deep prudence. The next resorted to was Lord Hawkesbury; of whom the King had once said, that he had "no head." There could not be a stronger proof of the desperation to which the royal policy was reduced. Lord Hawkesbury took time to consult with his friends; from whom he received such information of the public determination to secure an union of parties and coalition of leaders as should make a strong government, that he could not venture on office, supported only by royal favour and the aid of Mr. Pitt's subalterns. He declined; and he would have stood higher in men's opinions than ever before, if he had not spoiled the act by appropriating to himself the lucrative office of Warden of the Cinque Ports — thus making a profit of the incident—and by having made use of his position to get the necessary forms gone through with an expedition far from decorous.

Horner's Memoirs, i. 332.

Annual Reg., 1806, p. 20.

Of all the difficulties which stood in the way of an application to the Whigs, the greatest was the King's notion of the extent of his prerogative. He considered it his right—and he had always so considered it — to appoint to office the men he liked, without control or interference from any quarter whatever. If told that the public welfare required the appointment of a Cabinet composed of such and such materials, he resisted the suggestion, saying that to accede to it would be to give Opposition an indirect control over appointments which it was his sole right to make. He owed it to his posterity, he was wont to say, to keep this kingly power intact; and sooner than surrender it, he would give up his crown. When, in March, 1778, it was proposed to him by his Minister to admit the Whigs, he declared, three times in four days, that he would

1806. abdicate, saying, that if the people would not support his prerogative of choosing his ministers according to his own views, they should have another king. Four years afterwards, he repeated the threat, when the division against Lord North exposed him again to be "trampled upon by his enemies," as he was accustomed to say. We hear of no such threat now; but he yielded only when he found that there were really no men of his own way of thinking of whom a Cabinet could, at this time, be made. If he could not have one after his own liking, the next best thing was to have one which should unite parties, and secure the co-operation of their best men. This would bring in some of his own way of thinking, with whom he could enjoy official intercourse. Such an union happened to be exactly what the country wished for; and the Administration commonly called "All the Talents" was formed with little difficulty or delay.

Lord Brougham's Statesmen, i. Geo. III.

"All the Talents."

On the 27th of January, Lord Grenville had an interview, by appointment, with the King. He was requested to form a government; and they agreed that it must be of a comprehensive character. Then came the word of proof. Lord Grenville said he must avow that the man he should consult would be Mr. Fox. "I thought so; and I meant it so," was the reply: and the words flew all over the kingdom as fast as human tongues could send them. The Prince's behaviour was almost enough to make the King take back the words. He openly gloried in the humiliation of his father, took on himself the air of a party leader, and pressed his friends for office and place for his dependents. One consolation for the King was from the suggestion that the Whigs would be most effectually foiled by giving them power. The popular expectation from them was greater than any men could fulfil; and they were hampered by declarations easily made in opposition, but very hardly redeemed as pledges by men encompassed by the perplexities of office. The Whig portion of the new Cabinet would, certainly and soon, disappoint the people. As a beginning, Mr. Fox would disappoint the Catholics. It was understood every where, and Mr. Fox made the avowal openly in conversation, that he did not intend to harass the King about the Catholic question at all. He knew that it would be useless; and he advised the Catholic leaders to wait awhile—not to petition again the Parliament which had just rejected their claims—not to injure their cause by pushing it forward at a moment of grievous public alarm and perplexity. If, however, they differed from him about their course, and chose to renew their claim, he should be always found on their side, as hitherto, and say what he thought of the virtue of their cause. Many of the Catholic leaders acquiesced in this: but the enemies of Mr. Fox were right in concluding that many would not. To this day, his reputation is injured, in some quarters, by the imputation that he neglected the Catholic cause when power opened to

Annual Reg., 1806, p. 21.

The Catholic Question.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 436.

Ann. Reg., 1806, p. 25.

him; while others think him fully justified in attempting the great object of peace with France—to say nothing of other aims—though compelled to sever these aims from that of Catholic Emancipation. If, as such differences seem to show, it was a case of difficult decision, the successive Ministers who agreed to spare the King's feelings and the King's brain on this subject are entitled to a candid judgment: and most people, probably, now think that Mr. Fox, seeing that he could do the Catholics no good beyond the expression of his opinion, would have been wrong to decline, on their account, a possible opportunity of restoring peace with France, and promoting prosperity at home. Meantime, he was disappointing the Catholics, as he and his comrades were pretty sure to disappoint some other classes of expectants. 1806.

The King's friends saw further consolation for him in the admission into the Cabinet of his favourite old minister, Lord Sidmouth. This was a consolation, however, which failed in practice. The King seems to have grown very tired of Lord Sidmouth, some time before this date. The obsequiousness and flattery, and pious sentiment, which had once so pleased the sovereign, could not always compensate for the complacent selfishness and garrulous vanity which made the weak man forget good manners, when his head was full of himself. In the preceding summer, when Lord Sidmouth resigned, he tried to return the key of the Council-box to the King, instead of to Lord Hawkesbury, because he and Lord Hawkesbury were not on speaking terms. When the King intimated that he had nothing to do with such quarrels, and would have ended the audience, Lord Sidmouth detained him for an hour, compelling him to listen to his story, and so fatiguing him that the King told his family he had been plagued to death. Lord Sidmouth was not likely to regain his ground by becoming the colleague of Mr. Fox; and he had therefore no more such sentimental notes, and tender interviews, and royal presents, as had made him happy during his former term of office. Though called, as his biographer declares, "the King's friend" in the Cabinet, not one letter passed, and very few interviews, during his whole term of office. Lord Grenville and the Whigs need not have feared to give their new colleague any place which might afford him access to the King's ear: for the royal ear was not favourably inclined. In August following, Lord Sidmouth himself wrote: "Previous to the Council, I had a long audience, the effect of which has been to relieve my own mind, and, I am willing to believe, that of the King. Misconceptions have been done away." Before this time, the King had grown into a great liking for Mr. Fox. He not only testified, on all occasions, to the good faith and good manners which he found in Mr. Fox, but fairly fell, like everybody else, under the influence of his extraordinary fascination.

LORD SIDMOUTH.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 346.

Life, ii. 433.

Ibid.

1806. If this had but happened a few years sooner, what disaster and misery might have been spared!

It was necessary to have Lord Sidmouth in the Cabinet, though nobody particularly desired it. It was not on account of his personal qualities that he was sought; but on account of that "very
Life, ii. 407. numerous appearance of his friends," of which he wrote with complacency (though in a mistake) as the cause of the relinquishment of the Amendment. He commanded votes enough in Parliament to be able to turn the balance in a time of difficulty. Lord Grenville's government would unite the Old and New Opposition, as they were called; Mr. Fox being the head of the Old, which had opposed the war, and advocated broad popular liberties, and appealed to broad popular sympathies; and Lord Grenville being the leader of the New, which, though Whig in its principles, had supported the war as a painful necessity, and discountenanced any present extension of popular liberties. These two parties were secured: but they had together only about 150 votes in the Commons: and the new Administration must have more than this, considering the terms they were on with the Court. Some third party must be induced to join: and the choice was between Lord Sidmouth, with his compact body of adherents, and the scattered and perplexed Pittites. Lord Sidmouth had helped the exposure of Lord Melville: he was acceptable to the Prince, and, as was supposed, to the King also: he was not answerable for the recent continental alliance: he was not warlike or extravagant: his underlings were cleverer than those of the Pitt party. For these reasons and some others, Lord Sidmouth was considered the least undesirable of the leaders of whom one must be invited into the Coalition; and thus, though without talents, he became one of the Ministry of "All the Talents." The Prince sent Mr. Sheridan to him on the 23rd of January: and, after some complacent discussions about his conscience and private feelings—such as he was for ever making public—he accepted office, as every body knew throughout that he would. Though indispensable, his junction proved highly detrimental to the Grenville Administration. It was the occasion of a false step which proved most injurious to the new Cabinet. Lord Sidmouth, even if he had been, as he was supposed, "the King's friend," could not have sat alone in the Cabinet with ten men, of whom he had hitherto been the opponent. He endeavoured, he was wont to say, to be as moderate as he could in his demands for his friends: but he must have one
Ib., ii. 418. supporter in the Cabinet. He proposed Lord Buckinghamshire: but it was objected that some men of greater mark among the Whigs were to be left on one side; and he was invited to choose
Lord Ellenborough. again. He named Lord Ellenborough, then Lord Chief Justice; and unhappily the request was agreed to, and a high judicial func-

tionary was inducted into a political seat. The new ministers here afforded a grand theme to their opponents: and their opponents took care that they should never hear the last of it. Mr. Canning, then in his worst mood of vindictiveness, persecuted Mr. Fox, the whole session through, too much as he himself was, at a future day, to be persecuted, under circumstances mournfully similar. Few will now doubt that he had the right of the doctrine, and Mr. Fox the superiority of temper It is admitted now that to keep separate the judicial and political functions, is a primary principle of good government—as it once was the most decisive feature of political progress: and Mr. Fox's argument, that a cabinet is not an institution, not an arrangement in any way known to the law, is not found to stand as a sufficient defence before the mischief and peril of impairing the judicial function: but every one's sympathies turn from the petulant young debater to the composed and benign Minister, when the charm of his temper appears amidst provocation. When Canning was ironically commenting on the title of "All the Talents," Mr. Fox repudiated the title, and observed that it was impossible that the Ministry could have arrogated it to themselves while they saw Canning himself on the other side of the House.

1806.

Hansard, vi. 309.

Ib., vi. 466.

The two chiefs of the new Administration disappointed the expectations of their enemies by working well together. Mr. Fox had committed himself against the Wellesley policy in India, and had associated himself on that question with Lord Wellesley's enemies, Sir Philip Francis and Mr. Paull. Lord Grenville took the opposite view, and was a great champion of Lord Wellesley. This was not a difference which need prevent their acting together: and they settled it by agreeing that the accusation of Lord Wellesley was in no manner to be made a government question, while Mr. Fox reserved full liberty to speak and act as he should think proper, if the affair should be brought forward by others. When the people talked of the new Ministry, and the return of the Whigs to power, they were thinking of Mr. Fox. Perhaps he was, in all eyes, the true leader of the Cabinet. Yet Lord Grenville had qualities which perfectly fitted him for the post of leader. He had the knowledge of affairs and the habits of business in which his coadjutors were deficient: for he had not, like them, been long in Opposition, and excluded from the sphere of political business. He was a kinsman and friend of Mr. Pitt, and had been his steady supporter till his return to power in 1804. We have seen something of Mr. Pitt's suffering under the retreat of "that proud man," as he called Lord Grenville, to a new position among the Whigs. The benefit to the Whigs of this accession was very great. Lord Grenville had that thorough respectability of life in which some of the Whig leaders were sadly deficient. He had an extent of knowledge which justified the extreme strength of his convictions: he

LORD GRENVILLE.

1806. had a power of will which, though amounting occasionally to obstinacy, was of eminent service in the position which he held in such times. His well-grounded self-confidence set free all his energies for action; and his industry was in proportion to his confidence. He was a wise friend of the Irish nation, and a really heroic advocate of the Catholic claims; for to his steadiness on this question he sacrificed power for many years of his life. He was, at the same time, so unquestionable a churchman, so opposed, as he proved when Chancellor of Oxford University, to all church reform, that the King's mind might be quite easy about the preservation of Protestantism while Lord Grenville was Minister. These were qualifications which fitted him for the post of leader: while his united honesty and prudence, his sense and learning, his experience and political philosophy, offered a broad basis of reliance for his colleagues and the country.

Mr. Fox. If such a man and minister as this was almost overlooked in the presence of Fox, what must Fox have been? As unlike Lord Grenville as one man could well be to another. He had not the private respectability which is so dear to the English people. Under unfavourable circumstances in early life, he became a gamester, and remained so for two-thirds of his life. By a vigorous effort, he wrenched himself from the fascinations of play, when his friends arranged his affairs: but his vices could not but tell upon his intellect and his conscience, impairing the value of his life while shortening its duration. He had not Lord Grenville's immutable steadiness; nor his personal dignity; nor his vigilant prudence; nor his marvellous industry; nor his political and social science. While Lord Grenville was perhaps the most finished political economist of his time, Fox owned that he could not read Adam Smith, or fix his mind on speculations of that order. He had no conception, either, of the scope and importance of natural science, or of mental philosophy: and he could not, like Lord Grenville and most men of enlarged knowledge, respect the science and philosophy which he did not possess. These deficiencies led him into mischief, in public and in private: caused him disgrace and misery in his personal position, and made him unsteady and disappointing on some important points when he was in possession of power. What was it, then, that made him tower above his party and his colleagues, so that all men's eyes were fixed on him, and hearts by thousands which forgot all about respectability and prudence and consistency? He had a heart;—such a heart! And he had an imagination worthy to act with that heart: and a logical faculty such as is found only with the highest order of heart and imagination. Though he had not Lord Grenville's knowledge, it does not follow that he was ignorant. Though he could not attend to political economy, he was engrossed by history; so deeply interested in it, that he drew from it more philo-

sophy than he was himself aware of. His classical accomplishments were of a high order, and to them he owed much of the beauty of his indescribable oratory. Of that oratory it is best to say nothing—so impossible is it to convey any sense of its power. The best of the whole man was poured out into it—his passionate love of liberty—his hatred of tyrants—his scorn of hypocrites—his homage to rectitude—his compassion to the suffering—his recognitions of the past—his intuition of the soul of the present—his prevision of the future—and all the nobleness, generosity, and sweetness of the noblest, most generous and sweetest temper that ever graced a lofty genius—all this, poured out in floods, now like sunlight, and now like volcanic fire, can hardly be conveyed to the imagination of the present generation, deeply as it moved the hearts of the last. He had powers which singularly compensated for his deficiencies. He could learn in a moment almost whatever he pleased; and when in the very depths of some unworthy passion, he could leap out of it upon higher and safer ground. As an instance of this kind of versatility—he one night gamed so desperately at his club as to be plunged in despair at his losses. His face and manner so alarmed his friends, when he rushed from the house, that they apprehended suicide. They followed him closely, knocked at his door almost as soon as it had admitted him, and walked straight into the library. There they found him on his back on the hearth-rug, reading Herodotus, and to all appearance perfectly happy.—As for his quickness in gaining knowledge, Dr. Abraham Rees, the Dissenting Minister, used to tell an anecdote which well exhibits it. Dr. Rees and a deputation went up to Mr. Fox, to engage his interest for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Though staunch in the principles of religious liberty, he did not pretend to know any thing of the points of this particular case. He looked his visitors "through and through" while they spoke, asked four or five admirable questions, and dismissed them, after a very short audience. As they went up St. James's Street, he passed them, booted for his ride: and he entered the House, riding-whip in hand, as soon as he returned. Dr. Rees and his friends were in the gallery; and to their great delight, they heard from Mr. Fox a speech on their question so masterly, so deep, comprehensive, and exact, that their cause could not have been in better hands. The grounds of the popular expectation from Mr. Fox now were his strenuous opposition to the American war, at the beginning of his career; his sympathy with the French Revolution, as long as it appeared to be the protest of humanity against tyranny; his reprobation of the political persecutions which were the disgrace of Mr. Pitt's government; his steady advocacy of Peace with France, even after Lord Grenville and his friends had given up all idea of it; his advocacy of the Catholic claims, and of religious liberty every where; and his intrepidity and power as

1806.

1806. the leader of Opposition during many dark and stormy years. He had undergone a rupture in his friendship with his master and idol, Burke, rather than give up his hopes from the French Revolution; and he had, with his friends, seceded from the House on occasion of the passage of the Treasons and Seditious Acts. He had forfeited the confidence of many by his way of coming into power, with Lord North, in 1770: but of late, from 1797 to 1802, he had retired from the political world where he thought he could do no good, and had proved himself happier in his country home, farming and gardening in the mornings, and reading Greek plays in the evenings, than he had ever been while great among the great men of the day. In 1802, he had been in Paris, and had conversed with Napoleon, and been the guest of Lafayette, and others who understood the politics of France; and this seemed to improve the chances of peace, if he were made Minister. It was to promote this object and another—the abolition of the Slave trade—that Mr. Fox made the choice of office which surprised some of his friends. He chose to be Foreign Secretary. The state of opinion in France in regard to our leading statesmen seems to have been curious, in those days. The Opposition were despised by orderly Frenchmen, and Mr. Pitt revered as the upholder of Monarchy. No Frenchman could say that Mr. Pitt had managed the war very well: but they fancied he had saved his country from revolution. Yet they could not resist Mr. Fox's sympathy with them as a people, and his disposition to be on friendly terms with them, without reprobating their ideas or proceedings, or meddling with their forms of government. At the same time, we find Mr. Fox, at Paris, obliged to repel precisely, however indignantly, the charge brought against Mr. Windham, by Napoleon himself, of being concerned in the plot of the Infernal Machine. It was actually believed by intelligent Frenchmen that an English political leader could plot for the assassination of the ruler of France. It is interesting here to turn back to what Mr. Fox wrote, in a private letter, in 1778, about his political destinies. He was then thirty-one: now fifty-seven. "People flatter me that I continue to gain rather than lose estimation as an orator: and I am so convinced this is all I shall ever gain (unless I choose to be one of the meanest of men) that I never think of any other object of ambition. I am certainly ambitious by nature: but I have, or think I have, totally subdued that passion. I have still as much vanity as ever, which is a happier passion by far, because great reputation, I think, I may acquire and keep: great situations I never can acquire, nor, if acquired, keep, without making sacrifices that I will never make." Every body knew how simply and generously he had desired not to stand in the way, when Mr. Pitt had been making overtures to the Grenvilles: and now, at last, he was in a "great situation," such as he had thought he could never

Memoirs of Romilly, ii. 101.

To Mr. Fitz-Patrick.

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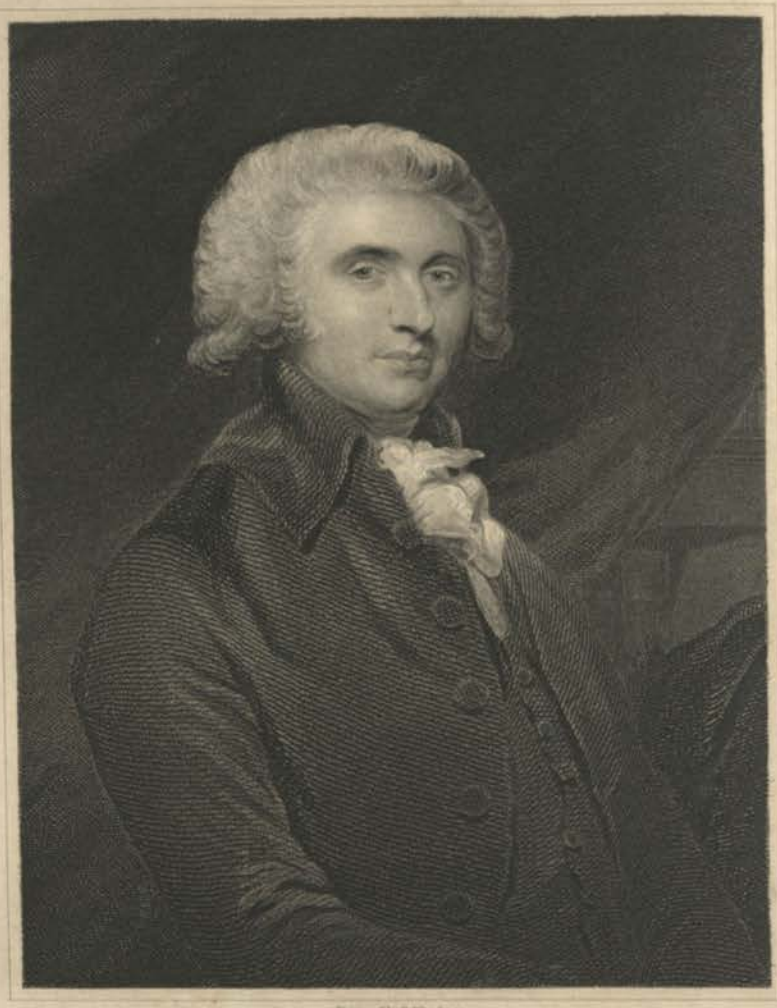

Engraved by R. Woodman

ERSKINE.

From the original Picture by Hoppner
in his Majesty's Collection at Windsor

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acquire: and vast and bright were the anticipations from such an event. His health, it is true, was not good: but the diligence with which he undertook and prosecuted the business of his office prevented the public from suspecting how bad it was. The difficulties of the new Administration were known to be great, from the relations of parties, the disfavour of the King, and the temper and quality of some of the new Ministers themselves: but we know from the upright and enlightened Horner what was anticipated by such men as himself—men gifted with every thing but foresight as to the changes of mortality. "We have every reason to place our trust in the two leaders of this Ministry, from their behaviour to each other in this arrangement: whatever may have been the case with others, both Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville have shown great moderation, and a perfect confidence in each other. If they as perfectly understand each other, with regard to the direction of public measures in future, we shall have an administration of far greater efficiency and success than the appearances of our domestic parties, I must own, would at first lead us to expect." 1806. Memoirs, i. 343.

OTHER MINISTERS.

Mr. Fox, as has been said, took the Foreign Office. Lord Spencer was Home, and Mr. Windham, War Secretary. The young Lord Henry Petty (still living as Marquess of Lansdowne) was brought forward in the then most difficult office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Sidmouth was Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Fitzwilliam President of the Council. Lord Howick (afterwards the revered Earl Grey of our own time) took the Admiralty; and the Earl of Moira had the Ordnance. The difficulty was about the Chancellorship. It was offered to Lord Mansfield first, and then to Lord Ellenborough, who both declined it. It was then given to Erskine, who, though a great patriot, and the greatest of advocates, was not qualified for the woolsack. No one thought he was; and the discontent was great: and no one was more dissatisfied than himself. He went to Romilly, and implored guidance as to what he should read, and how he should prepare himself. "You must make me a Chancellor now," he said, "that I may afterwards make you one." Romilly himself became Solicitor-General, and Pigott Attorney-General. A sweeping change was made in minor offices; such a change as had not been known for many a day: and this was no wonder; for there was to be a sweeping change of policy. One of the Prince's great friends, an able man who had done good service to good principles in his day, had by this time, it appears, incapacitated himself for receiving his due reward of honour and power. Sheridan's political services merited high office; but his personal habits excluded him from it. In his daily intoxication he was indiscreet; and he could not be trusted in the Cabinet. This is supposed, without doubt, to be the reason why he was made only Treasurer of the Navy; and that, not with- Memoirs of Romilly, ii. 129. Memoirs of Horner, i.332.

1806. out hesitation and reluctance. Sir Gilbert Elliot's appointment to the Board of Control was not understood or approved: and, as has been said, the admission of Chief Justice Ellenborough to a seat in the Cabinet damaged the Administration with both friends and foes.

Opposition Rancour.

Such was the Ministry which was now to encounter unfavourable construction from the King and Duke of York, vexatious difficulties from the vulgarity of the Prince of Wales, and a virulent persecution from the Opposition led by Canning, then as petulant, provoking, and troublesome, as any spoiled child ever was, and the more imposing in his petulance from his idolatrous regrets for his departed chief.—Some of Mr. Pitt's friends conceived, like Canning, that duty to him required of them opposition to his successors of a most rancorous kind. Others, like Lord Carrington, when conversing with Lord Malmesbury, held that time and fate had now dissolved all bonds of allegiance and of party, and that every man should act as seemed to him best for the public welfare: and others, as Lord Malmesbury himself, wondered that there could be a doubt as to what every true Pittite ought to do—that is, to hold to all other Pittites, and keep aloof from political men while the Whigs were in power—just as if Pitt were still alive. None of these could fail to be obstructive to the new men; and their power of destruction seems to have been in proportion to the royal countenance of it.—The terrors of the rank Tories of the day—men below the power of appreciating Pitt—told for something on weak heads, in palaces and out of parliament. Dean Milner is found writing to Wilberforce that Fox and Petty were incapable of steady enmity to the Slave Trade; that they could not do any thing from principle; that there would be presently a filling of the Church with Socinians, if not Deists; and that the State would be inundated with infidelity and low profligate morals. That, under the administration of the virtuous man and strict churchman, Lord Grenville, such anticipations should have been made by the Dean of Carlisle, shows what must have been the rancour of the time.

Diaries, iv. 358.

Wilberforce Correspondence, ii. 69.

First Difficulties.

On the very approach of "all the talents" to the King, a difficulty arose. When, on the 1st of February, Lord Grenville read a paper, containing an account of proposed arrangements, the King was alarmed at the mention of changes in the army; and yet more, when it appeared that the changes were thought to be needed in that part of the military system which was under the charge of the Duke of York. He protested that this was an affair of the Crown alone; and that he should be surrendering his prerogative, if he allowed his ministers to meddle with the management of the army, further than the mere levying, clothing, and paying, the troops. Since the time of the first Duke of Cumberland, the sovereign had wholly controlled the army, through the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Grenville considered this unconstitu-

tional doctrine; and every body understood that he was dismissed. But the King sent for him two days afterwards, and read a paper which declared his acquiescence in Lord Grenville's claim, provided only no changes in the management of the army were made without his knowledge and consent. This being readily agreed to as never having been questioned, every thing was considered settled, so that the ministers might proceed to business. 1806. Ann. Reg., 1806, p. 26.

The most pressing affair was the military administration, in which the accomplished, gallant, paradoxical Windham was the responsible man. He was as perverse on this occasion as ever. He had been the advocate of Mr. Pitt's military system, and of his principle that the soldier must be severed from the rest of society—set apart for his peculiar business—trained, rewarded, and punished under a wholly peculiar *régime*. Mr. Pitt's notion of an efficient soldiery was, that it should be a perfectly organized machine of offence, each individual being as inorganic as man can be made. Mr. Pitt's great supporter in this view now brought forward a plan of military defence, the chief object of which was to improve the condition and character of the soldier by enlisting him for seven years, with an addition of three, in case of actual war, instead of for life. At the same time, he would not hear of any mitigation of the barbarous punishments to which soldiers were then subject; for he insisted on severity of discipline as emphatically as in Mr. Pitt's time. The singular spectacle was thus witnessed of Mr. Windham sitting to hear his plan praised by successive speakers on opposite grounds. One showed how much more formidable the soldier would be to the enemy by retaining his citizen character and interests, expecting to re-enter society as a civilian after a definite term; while another expressed agreement with Mr. Windham in his belief, that unless a system of exclusive treatment and singular discipline was preserved, there would be no resource but the conscription for reinforcing the army. Mr. Canning made bitter sport of Mr. Windham's inconsistencies in this business; but did not prevent the measure from passing. He and his friends made merry with the new method of recruiting, which would, they were sure, bring forth no soldiers. By this time, it had become a very difficult matter to procure recruits. The more stringent the compulsion applied by the preceding ministries, and the more broad the cajoling of the young men of the nation, the fewer came forth for the defence of the country; so that now, after so many years of war and exhaustion, it would have been no wonder if any new scheme had failed. But as soon as Mr. Windham's plan became understood throughout the country, recruiting began to improve, and desertion to diminish. There seemed no doubt that if the minister had been consistent—reducing the barbarity of punishments, and encouraging the award of honours—his plan would have worked better still. But he could not be consistent, though

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.

Hansard, vi. 652–688.

1806. he could be obstinate on particular points. He threw his whole force into the advocacy of military punishments, bull and bear-baiting, the slave trade, and other inhumanities, and opposed popular education as a mighty national evil, while taking credit, from himself as well as from others, for drawing men into military duty by humane inducements, and a manifestation of respect for their citizen character. His proposal for limited service passed the Commons on the 6th of June, or rather, at four in the morning of the 7th, by a majority of 92: and the Lords dismissed it from their House on the 17th, and sent word to the Commons that they had passed the bill.

Hansard, vii. 559, 684.

Financial Administration.

The new ministers gained little credit by their financial plans and management. Their excuse for not fulfilling the expectations they had raised while in Opposition was, that the estimates were prepared by their predecessors, and the financial plans of the year laid, so that they could not proceed to reduction at once. They proposed several new taxes, which (as seems to be a fatality with the Whigs) were so bad as to be successively given up. Lord Henry Petty gave up the private brewing tax; and the manufacturing districts compelled him to take back his projects of taxing unwrought iron. The matter ended in his adding 10 per cent. to the assessed taxes, and raising the property and income tax from 6½ to 10 per cent. The odium which these measures brought on men who had spoken as they had done about the burden of taxation, may be imagined. Gillray, the caricaturist, did them as much mischief out of parliament as the Opposition could within it: and, after standing at the printshops to see Fox and Petty as tax-gatherers insulting John Bull, or Fox as a bear and Petty a dog, taught to dance by Lord Grenville, men went home, sorrowful and indignant, to wonder at themselves for putting their trust in popular leaders, any more than in princes. Here was Charles James Fox, of all men, heavily increasing the income tax, and exempting the King's income from the tax! As he never could read Adam Smith, or fix his attention on political economy, it was not to be wondered at that he had joined in proposing untenable imposts, exposing his incapacity as a financier: but it was not like him to exempt the King's income from a burden which pressed heavily upon every other man in the country who was not a pauper. The new ministry gained no credit in its financial department.

Negotiation for Peace.

Meantime, the objects which have been mentioned as nearest to Fox's heart when he accepted office were occupying his mind, and taking form under his hands. Peace and the abolition of the slave trade were those aims.—Early in February, Mr. Fox received a request that he would forward a passport to a foreigner arrived at Gravesend from Paris, who had important tidings to communicate. Mr. Fox sent for him, and granted him a private interview in his

own house. After some introductory conversation, the man opened to Mr. Fox a scheme for the assassination of Napoleon, who was to be shot from a house at Passy as he went by. The fellow appeared to have no doubt that he was telling very acceptable news, while the minister was so utterly confounded at finding himself *tête-à-tête* with an assassin, that he lost presence of mind. He rang the bell, and ordered him to be chased from the house, and from the kingdom, as soon as possible. Presently, however, it occurred to him that this was not the way to prevent the assassination. He sent after the wretch, and had him detained, and immediately wrote to Talleyrand a detail of the affair, with as much as he understood of the plot, promising to detain the man as long as the law would allow, and then to have him landed as far as possible from Paris. It is curious that this incident should have befallen the statesman who had so lately been obliged to defend Mr. Windham from the imputation of having been concerned in a similar plot; and that Napoleon should have lauded Mr. Fox's conduct in giving warning of the danger, as a remarkable exhibition of "principles of honour and of virtue." No more seems to have been heard of the stranger: but it appears that the incident prepared the way for a peace negotiation. On the same day that M. Talleyrand wrote Napoleon's message of acknowledgment, he sent to Mr. Fox the Emperor's speech to the legislature, pointing out to his particular observation the paragraph, "I desire peace with England. On my part, I shall never delay it for a moment. I shall always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens." Mr. Fox laid this before the King, and then wrote a simple and kindly letter to Talleyrand, explaining how the Treaty of Amiens and its stipulations admitted of various interpretations, and declaring a readiness to go into the matter, and see where the causes of misunderstanding and war really lay; the interest of the allies of England, and the security of Europe at large, being considered throughout. The correspondence proceeded, without much ground being gained, till June, when a new move was made by the French minister. Lord Yarmouth was among the English detained in France since the breaking out of the war. He arrived in Paris from Verdun at the beginning of June, and was immediately sent for by Talleyrand, who wished to charge him with the secret reasons for the refusal of France to admit Russia into the negotiation. Lord Yarmouth was unwilling to be concerned in the matter, as he did not desire peace, and would have opposed it, if he had been in his place at home: but Talleyrand compelled him to hear, and charged him to convey some very gracious sayings—such as that England was welcome to Sicily, that France would not ask her to give up anything, and that the feelings of the French nation had entirely changed, the asperity

1806.

Ann Reg., 1806, p. 708-9.

Ib., 710.

1806. which had marked the beginning of the war having given place to an earnest desire for peace. Napoleon frequently asked whether Lord Yarmouth had any credentials, saying that in diplomacy the agents did not speak the same political language unless they spoke under an equality of authorization. The due powers were sent to Lord Yarmouth: but meantime, Talleyrand had gone back from the point about Sicily, and, as may be seen in the published correspondence, shuffled so disgracefully, that it seems surprising that Mr. Fox could have had any hope of a good issue with such an opponent.—On the 25th of July, the news arrived in London that a treaty between Russia and France, which had been slily negotiated all this while, had been signed. This was mortifying and enfeebling to England; and bitterly did Mr. Fox feel it to be so: but it opened the way for sending from England a duly accredited ambassador, to treat openly for peace; and Lord Lauderdale was the man. "In the present disposition of the French government," wrote Mr. Fox to Lord Yarmouth on the 2nd of August, "there is, I fear, little probability that peace can be concluded on such terms as are alone admissible. The trial should, however, be made with frankness and good faith; and it is with this view that his Majesty has been pleased to direct that the Earl of Lauderdale should proceed to Paris, notwithstanding the present unfavourable aspect of the negotiation." Lords Yarmouth and Lauderdale united their efforts to keep the slippery French minister to the original points of the negotiation; but it was in vain. He never gave them any hold. When they resolved, as they did repeatedly, to leave Paris, he became cordial and reasonable, and apparently frank; but, as soon as they seemed to be in a fair way of coming to an agreement, he was off again. At last, in October, he and his master suddenly left Paris without notice, and the insulted Englishmen demanded their passports, and came home. After the entire correspondence had been presented to parliament, no one could pretend that our ambassadors had been impatient, or could deny that they had manifested a most patriotic forbearance under treatment the most disingenuous and provoking. But there are some who believe, even to this day, that it was Mr. Fox's illness and death which intercepted the hopes of peace; and that if he had lived, the darling aim of his political life would have been accomplished. He did not live to know that the separate treaty with Russia, improperly obtained for the intimidation of England, had been indignantly repudiated by the Emperor of Russia; but he had experienced enough of the dishonesty of Napoleon and his minister to be convinced that it was more easy to plead for peace with France than to obtain it. In the spring, at the outset of the negotiation, he had lost popularity by appearing to be yielding to Lord Grenville's less pacific policy; and there can be little doubt

Ann. Reg., 1806, p. 724.

Hansard, viii. 92—213.

Ib., 211.

Life of Wilberforce, iii. 267.

that, from the time of Lord Lauderdale's arrival in Paris, he pursued the negotiation from a sense of duty, and not from any hope of success 1806.

In parliament, the Grenville Ministry was doing well throughout the Spring. They had large majorities, whenever they chose to ask for them. But in the country they did not stand so well as at first. They were not good men-of-business, and they were at once oppressive and feeble as financiers. Their enemies—with the Duke of York at their head—seeing this, and honestly believing that it was bad for the country that it should be ruled by a Cabinet so variously composed, so prone to favour the French and the Catholics, and so unacceptable to the King, plotted to make "a push at it before the recess." The Duke of York saw Lord Chatham about this, and then Lord Malmesbury; and Lord Malmesbury wrote to Canning; and they got as far as to agree that if they could find a Pittite leader, they ought to stand out against parliamentary majorities, as Mr. Pitt did in 1783, till they could bring the majority over to their side. This implied that they were to be supported by the King; and when Lord Malmesbury hinted a question as to how this caballing would be regarded at Windsor, the Duke of York laughingly said that he would take the risk of that. All this seemed to Lord Malmesbury "very cheering;" but the plotters were at a loss for a leader. All agreed that the Duke of Portland ought to be the man: but his health, though improved by a severe surgical experiment, was not thought equal to such a charge. Though many conversations were held with the Duke of Portland, and with Mr. Perceval (the two next Prime Ministers) on the subject, it "came to nothing." The Ministerial majorities in parliament, and the good repute of Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, were, probably, still too strong.—The letter from Lord Malmesbury to Canning bears date the 7th of June. On the 10th, Mr. Fox moved a resolution in the Commons, which was carried with scarcely any opposition, that the House, reprobating the African Slave trade, would, with all possible expedition, take measures for abolishing the trade. Thus was he working towards his second great object in accepting a "great situation," while his enemies were caballing to remove him: and high were the hopes of the abolitionists who had wrought hard for this end for so many years, amidst alternations of depression and encouragement, when a deadly apprehension struck upon their hearts. The day week after Mr. Fox's fine speech, broad resolution, and spirited reply to objectors, two of the faithful abolitionists met and mourned together. "William Smith with us after the House," says Wilberforce's Diary, under date of June 27th, "and talking of poor Fox constrainedly; when at last, overcome by his feelings, he burst out with a real divulging of his danger—dropsy." It was even so; though his strenuous attention to business, his diligence and cheer-

MINISTERIAL STRENGTH.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 359.

Hansard, vii. 585.

REPROBATION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

Life, iii. 268.

1806. fulness, had disguised from others the decline of which he appears to have been sensible himself. He contemplated, at least, absence from parliament for the session when he said that he wished to go down to the House once more, to say something on the Slave trade. This motion was the last he ever made.

The Abolitionists had been sorely disappointed by Mr. Pitt, in regard to this question; and they now believed that, through Mr. Fox, they had gained every thing. It is scarcely possible for us now to conceive of the nature and virulence of the opposition to the abolition of slavery, and even of the slave trade, in the early days of the question. The great West India interest was only one obstacle among many. Many defended slavery—in which they included the slave trade—as scriptural. Some scholars defended it as classical, and talked of Epictetus. Lord Eldon defended it as constitutional. General Gascoigne asserted it to be not only necessary, but praiseworthy and beautiful; an institution which, if it had not always existed, ought always to have existed. Many more were averse to permitting "property" in any form to be touched, not knowing how far the meddling might go: and more still did not see what they had to do with it, and would not allow any "real business" to be put aside for the sake of what was out of sight, and no affair of theirs. But for the accident of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Wilberforce being personal friends, and very intimate, it is probable that even the devotedness of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and their earnest coadjutors, would have failed to obtain results so early as they did—long as the delay seemed to humane men who knew what was suffered by negroes from day to day, in the prosecution of the devilish traffic. Wilberforce stimulated Mr. Pitt to a degree of activity which perplexed foreign potentates, who had no Clarkson or Wilberforce among their subjects. They believed, as some foreign governments believe to this hour, that there was some deep political scheme, some trap, as they said, concealed under the pretence of England's humanity towards the negroes: and yet, while exciting this kind of speculation abroad, Mr. Pitt was disappointing the abolitionists at home. Habits of delay grew upon him as his health and spirits failed; and he omitted some acts, and lingered over some engagements, on behalf of the negroes, so as to justify doubts about his entire sincerity in the matter. On the other hand, no man was less able than Wilberforce to understand business on a large scale, or comprehend how a Prime Minister must arrange his objects, and regulate his transactions. Wilberforce's own house was a chaos of disorder, and his days were broken up into snatches of business, piety, and social intercourse, which would have constituted a useless life but for the sublime purpose of humanity which bound it together. In the midst of this disorder, Wilberforce stood struck with admiration, at times, of his friend Pitt's sagacity, practical ability, and power of achieve-

WILBERFORCE.

ment: and yet, he could never let him alone about the one piece of business in which they were concerned together. It was probably necessary that Pitt should be reminded occasionally—kept up to his professions and promises: but it was not necessary or advantageous that he should be teazed, as Wilberforce undoubtedly teazed him; and the cause may have suffered by it. Pitt was not the man to bear lecturing and teazing, and being dictated to: or if, from his own sweet temper and Wilberforce's goodness, he bore it, he could not like it, or be the better disposed by it. Wilberforce saw little or nothing beyond the cause to which he had devoted his life: and in the most innocent way, he would endanger the government, and harass the Minister, and push aside all business but his own, in a way which can be justified only in regard to questions of the most urgent exigency; and then, if controlled by petition or remonstrance which his affectionate heart and anxious conscience could not resist, he would mourn over the lack of principle and zeal in the Minister who had all the affairs of empire on his hands. It is clear that Pitt either promised too much or did too little: but it may be remembered that he was under a gentle compulsion from without which was out of all proportion to the zeal within; and inconsistency in profession and action was the natural, however mischievous, consequence. 1806.

When the Grenville and Fox Ministry came in, it was one of the questions spread out before their eyes, on which they, as individuals, though not as a cabinet, were to take their side at the outset. The royal family were opposed to the abolitionists; and so was Mr. Windham; and some other members of the Cabinet were indifferent, or doubtful, or adverse: but Lords Grenville, Spencer, and Henry Petty, were broadly favourable to the abolition of the slave trade. As for Mr. Fox, he was "quite rampant and playful," says Wilberforce, "as he was twenty-two years ago, when not under any awe of his opponents." He was under no awe which prevented his speaking out; and in private he obtained the Prince's "word of honour not to stir adversely." There was little doubt about success in the Commons; and little hope from the Lords; but, to the surprise of the Premier, he found his strength there so great that he transcended in his speech the bounds of his measure, to prepare the way for a broader proposition afterwards. Life, iii. 259

The measure now under their Lordships' notice was a Bill to prohibit the exportation of slaves from the British colonies, after the 1st of January, 1807: and its object was to prevent the employment of British capital and shipping in the foreign slave trade. This Bill passed the Lords so triumphantly that the Ministers at once determined to proceed. It was too late in the session to procure the passage of a Bill to prohibit the slave trade altogether; but, as we have seen, Mr. Fox's condemnatory resolution was COLONIAL SLAVE TRADE PROHIBITED. Hansard, vii. 236.

1806. passed, almost by acclamation; and by it the House stood pledged to procure the abolition of the traffic, as soon as possible. If it should please Heaven, the abolitionists said, that Mr. Fox should live, and Lord Grenville rule for another year, the thing would be done. Mr. Fox did not live, nor Lord Grenville rule, another year: but the question was too far advanced ever to go back, or be lost sight of. In order to prevent such pushing of the trade before the next 1st of January as the fixing of that date would naturally occasion, a Bill was rapidly passed, before the end of the session, to prevent the employment of any fresh ships in the trade.

Hansard, vii. 1145.

Lord Sidmouth was one of the members of the Cabinet who could not, on this question, act with the leaders. He did not talk paradox or inhumanity, like Mr. Windham; but he could no more obtain a hearing from the abolitionists than if he had. Mr. Fox treated him with candour. "I see what you mean," he said. "You think that abolition is *not* abolition; and there is a good deal of truth in that." Lord Sidmouth's view was that, while much might be done for humanity, by regulation, on the coast of Africa, in the middle passage, and in the West Indies, it was rash beyond measure to prohibit the trade altogether; as the smuggling which must ensue would occasion more misery to the negroes than their race were at present undergoing. Twenty years after, Lord Sidmouth was able to point to the fulfilment of this prediction. By that time it was becoming known that the slave trade had enormously increased, in consequence of the efforts to put it down; and that the miseries of the negroes had been fearfully aggravated. But, at the date of our history, no man, on any side of the question, seems to have seen what time and experience are now clearly revealing — that the only way to abolish the trade in slaves is to abolish slavery. While negro slavery exists, negroes will be obtained; and with the more desperation and cruelty, the more the traffic is interfered with by law. When, a few years later, the light broke in upon the abolitionists that this should have been their method and aim, they were humbled at this new instance of human blindness, and vexed that they had not asked for the whole at once, when they might as easily have obtained it as the part which they had gained: but it was yet some time before the bitter conviction reached their souls that their efforts of so many years had, at present, served only to aggravate the misery which they thought to annihilate. There is no need to regard their efforts as lost, and their noble energy as wasted. Their immediate object failed; as is the case, oftener than not, with express aims, while various unforeseen collateral benefits arise. They aggravated the slave trade; but they led on mankind to the abolition of slavery itself; and placed before the eyes of the world a spectacle of a policy of morality which cannot but have an incalculable influence on the advancement of political and social morals wherever states

Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 429.

Ib., ii. 430.

and society exist. Mr. Fox said a few words, on occasion of the last motion he ever made in parliament, when moving his resolution against the Slave Trade, which show, in a way most touching to survivors, what was his view of the moral and political importance of the movement. "So fully am I impressed," he said, "with the vast importance and necessity of attaining what will be the object of my motion this day, that if, during the almost forty years that I have now had the honour of a seat in parliament, I had been so fortunate as to accomplish that, and that only, I should think I had done enough, and could retire from public life with comfort, and conscious satisfaction that I had done my duty." 1806. Hansard, vii. 880.

Lord Melville's business was concluded this summer—concluded so far as that a considerable majority of the Peers acquitted him under the ten heads of the impeachment. The trial began in Westminster Hall on the 29th of April, and the votes were taken on the 12th of June, after sixteen days of trial. Among those who judged him, in and out of Westminster Hall, there were many who pitied his position—many who thought him an ill-used man—many who thought him punished enough by exposure and suspense—and not a few who, out of consideration to his family, his friends, and his peers, were glad that he should "get off." But it was felt at the time, and has been felt since, impossible that many, if any, should believe him actually innocent of the charges brought against him. That he was declared innocent by considerable majorities tended to bring into contempt and disrepute the House of Lords and trial by impeachment; and the tampering with the truth—the decision against evidence for unassigned reasons—was gravely injurious to the morality of the time, and to the reputation of statesmanship in England. It was this which caused the grief of good men at the event of the impeachment, and not any mortification at the escape of the culprit. If such men had been capable of vindictiveness, they might have been satisfied; for Lord Melville was abundantly punished. He was not a man of very sensitive honour; and he did not therefore suffer as most men of rank and education would have done in such a position. He was, as his friends said, "tough," in mind as in body; and he no more drooped, or secluded himself, or seemed aware of disgrace, than he grew thin, or grey, or feeble: but still he suffered. He was pushed aside from the life of activity and official excitement which he dearly loved; he was dethroned from his supremacy in Scotland, by his loss of patronage and personal honour: he had become a subject for taunts which he could not repel, nor, in his inmost heart, slight; and for ingratitude from some who were now too much scandalized to remember the benefits they had received from him when he was worshipped as a great man; and he lived to receive a long letter from Mr. Perceval, explaining that the reason why he could

ACQUITTAL OF LORD MELVILLE. Ann. Reg. 1806, p. 113.

1806. not ask Lord Melville to join his Ministry, where his talents would have been most acceptable, was, that such an accession would damage its character. He lived on, amidst wounded pride and reduction of the consequence he had loved so well—lived on, in apparent cheerfulness and unquestionable good-humour—even shaking hands heartily with Wilberforce, when, some years after, they met, face to face, in the narrow passage which leads from the Horse Guards to the Treasury: but, in spite of his toughness, he must have suffered deeply: or, if he did not, his immunity was not that which would have been preferred to suffering by a highly honourable man. That he had been the means of lowering, throughout the world, the character of English statesmanship, would have poisoned the peace of such a man. The one good result which followed from the whole affair was the warning to official men—(not to be honest, for it is hoped that such warning is never needed—but) to be minutely accurate, to have no unauthorised secrets about the affairs of their office—and to choose their underlings carefully, and superintend them diligently. No such "inadvertency" as Lord Melville's has since occurred.

Mr. Fox's illness.

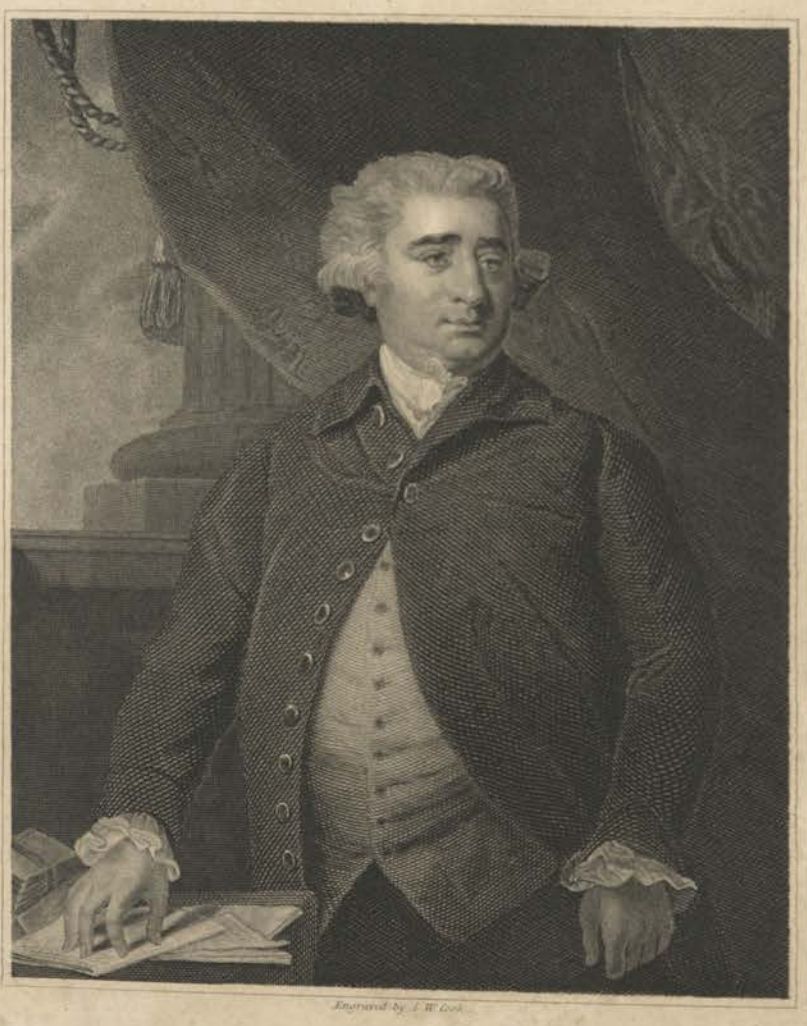
Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 431.

Ib., ii. 432.

On the 26th of July, Lord Sidmouth told his brother that Mr. Fox's situation was quite hopeless, though he might live some time. He called on the sick man, two days after, and found him cheerful—reading Virgil, good-humoured and friendly—his voice clear, his mind bright, but his aspect that of fatal disease. In two days more, Lord Ellenborough was writing to Lord Sidmouth of this illness being "a calamity of enormous magnitude;" and of the strong probability that the Cabinet must break up, through disunion among its members, if Fox should die. He mentions Lord Howick as having agreeably surprised him by his moderation in politics, and as being, from his administration of naval affairs, of inestimable importance to the government. In the middle of August, some cheering intelligence came from abroad, which raised the spirits of the Cabinet, and animated its weaker members to the hope that, by earnest striving and mutual forbearance, they might get on, when the life and soul of their body should have been taken away. On the 12th of September died Lord Thurlow—the surly lawyer, who was hardly ever known to admire any one but Fox; and of whom Fox said that he wondered whether any body was ever so wise as Lord Thurlow looked. The two men were leaving life together—the one, honoured by nobody, and disliked universally; the other, less honoured perhaps than beloved; but beloved as few men are, even of those who live in quieter regions than those of political strife. Fox died the next day, September 13th. Canning was among those who had heard—what every one was inquiring for—the circumstances of his last days. He had wished to get home to St. Anne's Hill, where he thought he could breathe more easily. The physicians considered

Death of Lord Thurlow.

Death of Mr. Fox.



Engraved by J. W. Cook

CHARLES JAMES FOX.

From a Picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the possession of Lord Holland.

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the journey impossible. The Duke of Devonshire recommended a removal to his villa at Chiswick, as a first stage. He could get no further, and died in a few days. If Canning could have foreseen how another statesman would, in an after time, break down under an opposition like that which he had inflicted on Fox this summer, and would move to the same house for air and repose, and die in the same chamber, the prevision would have softened and solemnized his soul at once, and brought him to instant repentance for the most mischievous and petulant passage of his life. "Little did I think," said the King to Lord Sidmouth, "that I should ever live to regret Mr. Fox's death." If he felt so, what must have been the grief of those who had long known and loved him, and who had expected for him now a few years of crowning glory—a carrying out in act of the aims and aspirations of forty years of political service. During the few months of his recent official life, he had rather lost than gained, they were aware, in reputation as a statesman: but they believed this to be owing to accidental clouds and temporary difficulties; they believed his time was coming, and gloried already in the hope of seeing him achieve whatever he had advocated, and justify all the enthusiasm he had ever excited. And when the opportunity was opening, the grave yawned in the way, and he was gone. Whether it would have been so if he had lived, can never be known, and may well be doubted: but it is impossible not to feel sympathy, even now, with the disappointed—seeing, as we do, what was before them: and, as for the grief of the personal bereavement, there was no one, amidst the bitterest of his adversaries, who could affect to make light of it. Though he died too soon for those who had known him best and longest, "he lived long enough," as even Lord Malmesbury declared, "to be regretted by all."

1806.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 435.

Diaries, iv. 362.

"No country," wrote the same old friend of Pitt, "within the short space of six (eight) months ever lost two such able statesmen as Pitt and Fox, or ever at a more important moment; a loss less felt at the instant than it will be some time hence. They left no equal in their line; and after such superiority, the nation will not be contented with moderate abilities." It *was* an important moment.—The nation had been thinking for some time now that our way of being at war was a rather curious one. It seemed as if nothing had been done since the battle of Trafalgar. The war-minister, Mr. Windham, held a very stern tone about the discipline of the soldiery, and always spoke very slightingly of volunteers: but it did not appear that our forces were doing any thing effectual. In the preceding winter, just when the Grenville Ministry was coming in, there had been some disaster in the south of Italy. A small force of English, and another of Russians had landed in the Neapolitan territory, compelling the King of Naples thus to answer to Napoleon for a breach of the neutrality he had

STATE OF THE WAR.

NEAPOLITAN MOVEMENTS.

1806. promised. Napoleon sent a large force down from the north of Italy, where it was no longer wanted; and in a trice the Russians were sailing away from the one coast, and the British from the other; and Napoleon's brother Joseph was living at the palace, as King of Naples. The poor King and Queen, whom Napoleon hated especially on account of their friendship for Nelson, had reached Palermo; and there they lived, guarded by the small British force, which had escaped from the main land, and two or three ships sent by Lord Collingwood, on their petition. The new King went into Calabria, to visit his territories there; and as soon as he had turned his back upon Naples, the British and Sicilians took Capri, and some other islands opposite the coast, and the maritime fortress of Gaeta. The Calabrians did not like their new masters; and they rose in insurrection on every side. The warfare was horrible, and far from successful on the side of the French. The British in Sicily having been, to a small extent, reinforced from home, and placed under the command of Sir John Stuart, took the opportunity to cross over into Calabria, and help to damage the French. They landed on the 1st of July, not far from Nicastro; the whole force, including artillery, not exceeding 5,000 men, and one-third of that number being foreigners in English pay. Sir Sidney Smith arrived in the bay immediately after; and so disposed his ships and gun-boats as to facilitate the escape of the little army, in case of need.

Finding that the French General, Regnier, was coming down to attack him in the space (five miles in width) between the mountains and the sea, Sir John Stuart marched to meet him, over ground cut up by water-courses, and encumbered by thickets of myrtle. It was on the 4th of July that the British found the French posted most advantageously near Maida, from which place the battle took its name. Regnier imprudently left his position on a rising ground, where he had swamps and thickets on either hand, and a broad river in front; and came down to meet the British in the plain. Probably the compact little force looked very contemptible in Regnier's eyes, as it advanced across the plain; he was in a hurry to come down, with his 6,300 men, to beat the Sir John Stuart who had beaten him in Egypt. Since the Austerlitz battle, the French boast had been that no troops in Europe could stand their bayonet charge. The British were now to answer this boast. They threw down the blankets they had carried at their backs; levelled their bayonets, and rushed on with a hurrah, to meet French veterans and their bayonet charge for the first time; for the English troops were somewhat raw. The French gave way at every point, and were presently completely routed. They had sustained, as their own newspapers said, no such defeat since their revolution. They admitted that they left 1,500 killed and wounded on the field, while of the British only

Battle of Maida. Despatch, Annual Reg. 1806, p. 591.

45 were killed, and 82 wounded. The French retreated, amidst a hostile peasantry, beyond the Appennines; and Stuart had the pleasure of sending home the news of the victory of Maida. It availed only to retard the aggressions of the French, whose operations were certainly thrown back by it for a year. Sir John Stuart's force was too small to drive out the French from Calabria; and it was presently so reduced by the fevers of the region that its remains had to be carried over to Sicily.—Before July was out, Gaeta surrendered to the French; and the battle of Maida remained our single success in Italy. The quality of our soldiers had been proved, and the French had been impeded and mortified: this was all; and it was not enough to raise the spirits of the English nation about the war. Fox smiled upon the news from his dying bed. He did not know of the gloom which was presently to ensue. 1806.

THE CAPE REGAINED.

The Cape was regained, and the mortification of its relinquishment by the Addington Administration was wiped out. Sir David Baird took it from the Dutch with ease. One more adventure of our arms seemed at first to be successful, but ended in humiliation. Admiral Sir Home Popham took it into his head, without any authority from home, to attack the Spanish colonies in South America; and he induced Sir David Baird to let him have a portion of the force which had recovered the Cape. With these, he took Buenos Ayres, and sent home 1,000,000 dollars, with a circular manifesto to our merchants, inviting them to turn their attention to the land of gold he had opened to them. The Cabinet had endeavoured to recall Sir Home Popham before he had committed the country and himself to this strange scheme: but, as their orders did not reach him in time, and as all seemed to turn out well, they acquiesced—well pleased to see the nation in good spirits once more. But the British were almost immediately driven out from their new conquest; and by the time that Fox was laid in the grave, our force on the South American coast, with all the strength it had been able to draw from the Cape and from home, was able only to secure itself at a post on the shore, till further reinforcements should arrive.

Despatch, Annual Reg., 1806, p. 582.

BUENOS AYRES.

Order in Council, Sep. 20, 1806.

It was not only that England had gained and done so little, during all this time: a worse consideration was, that France had done and gained so much. During this gloomy autumn, it appeared as if Napoleon was really destined to be master of Europe. The vacillating conduct of Prussia, up to the time of the battle of Austerlitz, has been seen. After that battle, Haugwitz, who had hovered in the neighbourhood, concluded a treaty with Napoleon, by one clause of which the Hanoverian dominions of George III. were to be given to Prussia. There was shame enough left among some of the best men in the Court of Berlin to make them suggest that Hanover should not be taken possession of till the end of the

PRUSSIA ABOUT HANOVER.

1806. war; and then only with the consent of our King. In England the excitement was great, some joining with the royal family in vowing that England should contend for the retention of Hanover to the last of her blood and treasure, and others thinking that, as Hanover was already in Napoleon's hands, our blood and treasure might be better spent in other objects. The question was soon settled, as far as Prussia was concerned.

Annual Reg., 1806, p. 676. Humiliation of Prussia.

It was on the 1st of April that the Prussian monarch issued his patent of annexation of the Hanoverian dominions to Prussia, declaring them to have belonged to Napoleon "by right of conquest," and to have been transferred to Prussia "in consideration of the cession of three of her provinces to France." Prussia brought upon herself by this act not only the wrath of England, but the hostility of Sweden: and at the same time she found that France was encroaching on her at various points, instead of observing the boundary of the Rhine, and actually treating with Mr. Fox, during the negotiations of the summer, for the restitution of Hanover to George III. Presently after she learned from St. Petersburgh, that Napoleon had hinted to the Russian Emperor that any part of Polish Prussia that he might wish for should be at his service. Again, a formidable French force was closing round the Prussian frontier: the dwellers on the frontier made grievous complaints of the burden of their compulsory support of the French troops: and, at the same time, one of those outrages towards individual liberty and life was perpetrated which often rouse nations to war more suddenly and fiercely than aggressions of a wider scope. A bookseller of Nuremburg, named Palm, was seized, on an accusation of issuing a libel against Napoleon in the form of a pamphlet on German politics, carried to Braunau (which ought to have been quitted by the French before this time, according to treaty), and tried and executed by a court-martial. A general cry arose throughout the Prussian dominions for a change of government; for that the alliance with France formed by the present government was a mere mockery, and not to be endured. While the change was preparing, matters grew worse and worse. Scarcely a day passed without some new discovery of the treachery of the strong ally, and the helplessness of the weak one; and the finishing stroke to the discouragement of Prussia was given by the discovery of the real objects of the Confederacy of the Rhine, made public on the 1st of August. The confederates were small potentates whose dominions lay along the river. The confederacy had been first thought of when Napoleon was on friendly terms with Prussia; but it now appeared that it had become his object to secure a footing in Germany which would enable him to hold his ground against Austria and Russia, without relying on Prussia. As soon as this Confederacy had declared its secession, under the protection of Napoleon, from the German empire, and Francis had

exchanged his title of Emperor of Germany for that of Emperor of Austria, Prussia discovered how helplessly she stood in the midst of these arrangements, ignominiously exposed to the mere rapacity of France. The members of the Prussian government saw at length that nothing but war was before them; and they thought that they might as well carry it on as a new set of men. The King is said to have been the last man in the government to be convinced of the necessity of war with France: but he saw it at last; and during the month of August, warlike preparations were observed to be going on.—A scene of singular duplicity followed. On the 7th of September, an honest man, who greatly admired Napoleon, was sent to Paris, to treat for peace. He, Knobelsdorff, was in earnest: but his King sent him merely to gain time to levy forces; and Napoleon knew this. When Napoleon set forth on his campaign, the innocent Prussian proposed to go with him—not having any idea why the Emperor was going, and thinking that they might carry on their negotiation by the way. It was the end of September before Prussia let Russia know what was about to happen; and it must be another month therefore before she could have aid. In the meantime, she must meet France single-handed. She wished, however, for money from England; and she humbled herself therefore to intimate that she was willing to make peace. The opportunity for recovering Hanover was seized. Lord Morpeth set out for the Prussian head-quarters on the 1st of October, and arrived there, at Weimar, on the 12th. The Prussian Ministers did not think he could have been so quick; and they would rather he had not arrived till after the battle about to be fought, which they thought could hardly place them in a worse position as to credit, while a victory might enable them still to keep Hanover. They actually did not see Lord Morpeth till after the result of the battle of Auerstadt, fought on the 14th, was known.—That battle, and every other, was gained by the French. The King of Prussia was presently a fugitive beyond the Oder, and Napoleon was sending out his orders from the palace at Berlin, as he had done, less than a year before, from that of Vienna. In a few weeks, the Prussian power was annihilated; and the forces of Napoleon had swept over the whole of the north of Germany.

1806.

Annual Reg., 1806, p. 108.

While Fox was breathing his last, the Tower guns were firing for the capture of Buenos Ayres. From that time, bad news poured in so fast as to shed embarrassment and gloom over the consultations of the Cabinet as to how to reconstitute itself. What the difficulties were in the appointment of office seems never to have been clearly told; but no one can wonder that, among so strange a diversity of men, the greatest of them being gone, there could be little union. We find so much praise of Lord Howick's moderation, and good temper and manners, that we must suppose that the more liberal party in the Cabinet had some difficulty in standing

NEW ARRANGEMENTS IN THE CABINET.

1806. its ground. Lord Howick succeeded to Fox's most arduous office, and yielded his own, at the Admiralty, to Mr. T. Grenville. Lord Holland, the nephew of Mr. Fox, was the only new member brought in. He took Lord Sidmouth's office; and Lord Sidmouth became President of the Council, in the place of Lord Fitzwilliam, who went out. Lord Minto, late Sir Gilbert Elliot, became Governor-General of Bengal.

Annual Reg., 1806, p. 262.

Three weeks from Mr. Fox's death were occupied in preparations for his funeral, which was as imposing as it was mournful. He was buried at Westminster Abbey, on the 10th of October. Hitherto, the nation had been divided for many years, not so much into Tories and Whigs as into Pittites and Foxites. The men who had at first stood as symbols of principles had become, as symbols are apt to do, idols. The idols were broken, and men must find out afresh what their principles were, and choose fresh exponents of them. It did not appear that there were any men before the eyes of the nation qualified to become such exponents, at present. It seemed that new parties must be formed, on grounds to be newly explored and ascertained. The broad and deep middle class of Great Britain always affords a basis and materials for a great popular party. It had long been unduly depressed, by a combination of unfavourable influences; and one great question now to be decided was, whether it was sufficiently aware of the dignity and soundness of its permanent interests to assert itself in opposition to the self-will of royalty, and of an aristocracy which is always most powerful in a period of war. The leading Ministers considered it necessary, though earnestly opposed by the Tory members of the Cabinet, and vehemently blamed by a host of observers without, to give the people an opportunity of declaring their minds at so marked a crisis; and they therefore engaged the King to dissolve parliament on the 25th of October.—These leaders were well aware that their popularity had been declining ever since they entered office; and that, if seen already to be weak, they might be regarded as contemptible now that Mr. Fox was gone. They might risk every thing by calling a new parliament. But it was essential to their self-respect, and their confidence in office, that the opinion of the people in regard to them should be pronounced, and that the policy of the coming period should be indicated by the nation before it was prosecuted by themselves. So, though the King frowned, and Lord Sidmouth shook his head, and Mr. Wilberforce owned himself shocked, and a host of Liberals doubted and wondered, Lord Grenville decided that a new parliament should meet on the 15th of December.

Dissolution of Parties.

Dissolution of Parliament.

Annual Reg., 1806, p. 451.

CHAPTER IX.

1806.

THE elections seemed to settle the point of the further probation of the Grenville Ministry. They had so large a majority that the Opposition were quite disheartened. We find Lord Eldon growing very angry at this discouragement, and telling his Tory friends that all good people hate coalitions: and that, if the Opposition would even now take for their ground the coalition of the Grenvilles and Foxites, they would find themselves supported by all the virtue of the country. He complained bitterly of the whole Tory party, from the King himself to Mr. Canning, for their guilty supineness. He pitied his sovereign for the ignorance of his value, shown in not making him Chancellor again: ascribed this desertion of his old servants by the King to his age, his blindness, his being surrounded by evil domestic influences, and his wish to avoid those who had seen him in his fits of insanity. "The King's conduct," he concludes, "does not astonish me, though I think it has destroyed him." It is amusing, after this, to read the protestations made by Lord Eldon, only three months later, of the perfect vigour of the King's understanding, and the noble independence of his action.—As for the Opposition, Lord Eldon says he could never induce them to form any plan, to agree upon any system; and thus they only railed at the Administration, without overthrowing it. This was precisely the complaint of the best men of the liberal party, who cared more about seeing the country well governed than about maintaining any particular set of men in power. "I look upon it as a serious misfortune to the country," wrote Francis Horner, on the opening of the new parliament, "that it is for the present deprived of that very important part of our political system—a party arrayed against the Ministers, for the purposes of popular vigilance and inquisition, upon fixed and assignable principles." Thus the machinery for governing, during this important period of probation, consisted of a reluctant sovereign, supported by a carping family and Court; an ill-compacted Cabinet, sufficiently supported as to numbers in parliament, but abundantly thwarted and censured there, without any Opposition which could bring their principles of government to any satisfactory test.—As for the most vexatious member of Opposition, Mr. Canning, Lord Eldon was more angry with him by far than Lord Grenville was; for Canning was already

STRENGTH OF THE CABINET.

Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 11.

Memoirs, i. 386.

1806. showing a power of progression which isolated him from all but the few true Pittites who remained connected with public affairs. During this November, Lord Grenville made liberal offers to Mr. Canning of office for himself and three or four supporters: Mr. Canning refused them: but Lord Eldon could not forgive him for having been so sought. He said that Lord Grenville was flattering the vanity of the youngster, and pretending to make him of consequence; and he held up Canning to the distrust of all good Tories. Lord Wellesley was the negotiator between Lord Grenville and Canning. His own position was a strange one. An impeachment was hanging over him, which had been desired and supported by some members of Lord Grenville's Cabinet, and had been deferred only because the requisite information could not be obtained before the close of the session: and the time was coming when the government of the country was to be offered to him. While he was thus standing unconsciously between threatened ignominy on the one hand, and proffered honour on the other, he was labouring to recruit a partially hostile Cabinet from the noisiest part of the Opposition.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 362.

No Christmas Recess.

For once, parliament was not allowed the usual Christmas recess. The failure of the negotiations for peace, and the state of the war on the Continent, were pressing for consideration: and the new parliament, which met on the 15th of December, continued its sittings almost from day to day. Mr. Abbott was again chosen Speaker; and the Royal Speech was communicated by Commission—the principal topic being the failure of the negotiation with France.—Lord Howick's speech on the Address was considered by friends and foes the best he had ever made. It is interesting now to look back upon the manifestations, during that year, of the ability of various kinds in various men, which was afterwards to have so much influence over the affairs of the world. Lord Howick was not very young in years; but he was in power; and now he began to manifest, to the admiration of his opponents, the loftiness of principle and sentiment which enabled him to hold the same tone in power as in Opposition.—Mr. Canning's speech in reading an amendment which he did not move was pronounced on all hands very able. Some objected to its tone of personal assertion, which looked like a desire "to fix himself in the throne of Opposition." Those who uttered the objection were probably unaware of the recent offers made to him, which rendered his present self-assertion necessary.—Mr. Perceval, of whom little had been heard before, except in his character of a violent partisan Attorney-General, in Pitt's last administration, was now coming out in a character of his own—as an enemy to all relaxation of religious tests. From this time his rigid, narrow mind, honest and unphilosophical; his temper, amiable towards friends, and bitter and arrogant towards opponents; his manners, simple and affectionate

Hansard, viii. 16.

Lord Howick.

Mr. Canning.

Mr. Perceval.

to his connexions, and ludicrously presumptuous and offensive to all persons whom he considered heterodox — these qualities were now beginning to be conspicuous in the man whom nature never intended to be conspicuous, but who, by one of those apparent mistakes of fate which make statesmen of very small personages, was soon to be at the head of affairs for a series of years.—In this same year, on occasion of Lord Melville's trial, Romilly made what was called at the time his first public appearance. His function as Solicitor-General drew all eyes upon him; and no doubt afterwards existed anywhere as to what his goodness was, and what his greatness ought to be. By some few he had long been affectionately revered: he was now to be the dread of the oppressor, and the hope of the pure and the merciful in heart.—Another man entered parliament this session from whom great things were expected, and who lived just long enough to show that such expectation could hardly have been exaggerated. Francis Horner now took his seat for St. Ives. During this short session, he did not prove his quality to strangers, speaking only twice, very shortly, and modestly watching, instead of aiding, the discussion of the great questions of the time. But he was there, with his high integrity and intelligence, ready to aid every good cause when the time should come.—On this occasion William Lamb was one of the striking novelties. He moved the Address in the Commons; and it was agreed that whatever his abilities might prove to be, he had the most impressive manner and voice of any man yet known in the House. Such was the judgment pronounced on the future Melbourne—the fourth future Prime Minister in this short list of rising men.—Another young man was there who was to make a brilliant manifestation of his powers before the end of the short session, and to raise and justify new hopes during a series of years, and show what he could do in office, and then sink into insanity and death. J. W. Ward, afterwards Earl of Dudley, sat among a few friends who promised deep for him, but were soon almost ashamed not to have engaged for much more.—The young Lord Palmerston was there. "He is but a lad," some one had just written of him to Wilberforce: but his opinions were nevertheless speculated upon with interest. He was clever: and evidently resolved to devote his abilities to political life. He is represented as having been in those days serious and modest: and if this was true, he deserved the interest he excited. He had failed in the contest for Cambridge University, against Lord Henry Petty, on the coming in of the Grenville Ministry; and his failure was supposed to be mainly owing to his modest and conscientious diffidence in declaring himself on the Slave trade question, by which he was imagined not to be an abolitionist, while he in fact was one. Young as he was, he was now on the eve of office. It is interesting to look back on this his first crossing of the threshold of the House, where his voice is now, in his old

1806.

SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY.

FRANCIS HORNER.

HON. WM. LAMB.

Memoirs of Horner, i. 386.

HON. J. W. WARD

LORD PALMERSTON.

1806. age, still heard—as vigorous as ever. It was not long subdued by diffidence and modesty; and his ability was not of a kind to grow old, any more than to grow great and noble. Of all kinds of ability, ingenuity is perhaps the least likely to expand into genius, or to exhaust itself with years. While one after another of the rising statesmen of his youth has sunk under the weight of political care—sunk into madness, suicide, induced disease, and premature death—Lord Palmerston remains the last, apparently as easy as he once was diffident, and far more gay and boyish, it would seem, than when, as "a lad," he took his seat in the great Council of the nation at Christmas, 1806.

1807 Military Department. The condition and conduct of military affairs, and the state of the finances, were the most prominent subjects of interest on the meeting of the new parliament. The differences of opinion about the character of the best military defence were as broad and deep as ever. Some leaders still believed that volunteering should be discouraged, and the army made a state machine—the military defence of the State being wholly separated from its political life: while others dreaded the extinction of political life in the process, and the crushing of popular liberties under the state machine of a separate military organization. These believed that if national institutions were rendered valuable, and if citizens were trained to value them, there could be little doubt or difficulty about their adequate defence: while nothing could be so fatal to the hope of national welfare, and even of national existence, as the practice of deputing to an uninterested hireling force the preservation of what every man should feel personal solicitude in preserving. It was the implication of this principle in the opposite methods of military policy that gave the interest to the researches and debates of this winter. Very opposite stories were told at the time; but there was soon no doubt whatever that the new policy of enlisting for terms of years, and of improving in other respects the condition and prospects of the soldiery, was working well. A greater number of recruits, of a higher order, and at a lower bounty, was raised than under the old method; and desertion was diminishing, month by month.—Results now began to appear from the inquiry into military administration ordered in Mr. Pitt's time. Abuses which might match with those in the navy were brought to light. Some friends of the Grenville ministry would have had them conciliate the King and the Duke of York by letting this subject drop: but the best and bravest of the cabinet would not consent to this, though they did not follow up the inquiry with all the spirit they had shown in Opposition. A magnificent army contractor, named Davison, a banker, and colonel of a regiment of volunteers, had been for some time living in prodigious style, buying estates, pictures, and wines, and giving dinners which the Prince of Wales and his brothers

Ann. Reg., 1807, p. 101.

honoured with their presence; and the poor soldiers had been all the while shivering with cold in their sordid barrack-rooms; their coals having gone to light Davison's fires, and their blankets to thicken his carpets. He was found to have pocketed 30*l.* in every 100*l.* charged for coals, on the mere stated prices, besides having bought his coals in summer when they were cheap, and sold them in winter when they were dear. He was made to disgorge a large portion of his wealth, and to refund upwards of 18,000*l.* on his commission alone: and he was imprisoned in Newgate. The abuse charged against Lord Melville and his underling—of using large sums (in this case amounting to millions) of the public money for intervals of time without interest, was proved to have reached an enormous height in the military department; gross frauds of various kinds were exposed: and the exposure did some good; but it was extremely difficult to establish a better system. Men of family and of fashion, who did not know how to take care of themselves, and to maintain their station, otherwise than by holding offices which they turned over to deputies, were placed in positions of trust which should have been filled by men of business: and the mischiefs of such a system of appointment could not be undone or guarded against in a day.—As for the actual force of the country, when all deductions were made from Mr. Windham's calculations which the keen sight of party spirit could exhibit grounds for, there remained a vast disposable force. Fifty thousand men could at any time be furnished for any great continental expedition. Long lines of martello towers were still built along our coasts, though many people felt that the battle of Trafalgar had secured us from all danger of invasion, and though a patriot poet was teaching us to sing

1806.

FORCE OF THE COUNTRY

"Britannia needs no bulwarks,
No towers along the steep;
Her march is on the mountain wave,
Her home is on the deep."

The idea of fortifying ourselves at home seems still to have been the prominent one: and the new ordnance grants were expended on such projects: but our means of aggression, or rather of defence on foreign soil, were on the increase; and the peace-ministry of Lord Grenville made a very creditable appearance in parliament at the beginning of 1807.

It was understood that a grand new financial scheme was to be brought forward early in the session; and as soon as the debate on the peace negotiation was finished, Lord Henry Petty explained what the scheme was. It was Lord Grenville's plan: and it only showed that he and his Chancellor of the Exchequer knew no more of finance than most other men in parliament. It had been thought before the Peace of Amiens, that taxation had been carried as far as

FINANCIAL SCHEME. Hansard, viii. 564—597.

1807. it could go: and it did appear as if no more articles remained to be taxed, and that the only thing to be done was to increase the existing imposts. The sum paid into the Exchequer in 1801, as the entire produce of the taxes, was a little more than 34,000,000*l.*: while in 1806, it had been nearly 56,000,000*l.* As there must be some limit to the application of this method, the present ministers devised a new Sinking Fund, which they unaccountably fancied would work to the extinction of debt. The old sinking fund was nominally in operation: but, since 1792, the Commissioners of the Debt had been borrowing with one hand while paying with the other—creating new debt in order to extinguish the old. In a sort of imitation of this, the war expenditure beyond the amount of the taxes—that is, about 11,000,000*l.* per annum—was to be met by a system of borrowing, with scarcely any aid from taxation. The fallacy lay in that word "scarcely." As nothing could come out of nothing, this 11,000,000*l.* must come out of something: and the ministerial mistake was in supposing that that something might, by twisting and turning, be reduced to an amount exceedingly small. The plan was to raise the money by loan; to set apart from it, with help from the war taxes, an amount equal to a tenth of it, of which half (or 5 per cent.) would pay interest and cost of management, while the other 5 per cent. would form a sinking fund which would, in fourteen years, pay off the principal. The amount drawn from the war taxes was, of course, taken from the revenue of the year, though it was called a mortgage on those taxes: and the call for it had to be met somehow. It was to be met by a supplementary loan; which again was to be extinguished by a sinking fund of 1 per cent. This 1 per cent., and the interest of the supplementary loan, were to be met somehow: and that somehow was to be by new taxes. The plan went out with its authors; and there is, therefore, no need to dwell on it further: but there were more able financiers than Lord Grenville and his young Chancellor of the Exchequer, who explained at the time that there would be waste, instead of economy, in the twistings and turnings of the plan; and that at the end of the fourteen years, the nation would have been some millions the worse for the money not having been raised in a direct manner by taxation. The payment of interest, and of postponed, which is always compound, interest; and the having finally to pay in a time of peace when the funds are high, money borrowed when the funds were low, would be ultimately so much additional burden to the nation. The consequences of the heavy taxation which had now gone on for many years were cruelly felt, and were visible, we are told, to the traveller passing along the roads and through the villages of our islands. Wages were nominally high, and still rising; but prices, though fluctuating, were on the whole rising in a greater proportion than wages. Pauperism was on the increase; and the burden of the poor rates

Official Paper, Ann. Reg., 1807, p. 620.

Hamilton's Inquiry into the National Debt.

Ann. Reg., 1807, p. 106.

grew heavier at the same time with every other kind of taxation. 1807.
It was obvious at a glance that the working-classes were less well clothed, and more anxious and moody; their places of recreation were closed or deserted; and those who returned to any familiar place after an absence of a few years, found pale and grave faces by the wayside, and missed the old cheerfulness and mirth. There was little yet of the intolerable misery which was to come in a few years more: but the decline in the popular condition which is a necessary consequence of a protracted war was now distinctly recognised; and sinking funds were tending rather to sink the tax-payers than the debts of the country. In such a state of things, the Grenville ministry gained and deserved no credit as financiers. Lord Henry Petty was thoroughly in earnest in his advocacy of his scheme, and presented it very powerfully: but it would not bear examination beyond the walls of parliament.

ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

We have seen that Parliament stood pledged to abolish the Slave Trade at the earliest opportunity. It was now done, as far as Parliament could do it. On the 2nd of January, Lord Grenville brought in the promised Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The King's sons immediately exerted themselves to canvass against it. Lord Eldon pronounced it impracticable, because abolition of the African trade would bring after it a demand for abolition in the West Indies. All the old objections were renewed; and with the more urgency as the crisis drew near. The pledged zeal of the Prime Minister might be thought to settle the matter. But his Bill could not be considered safe while some members of his Cabinet were opposed to it; and we find Lord Sidmouth on this occasion proposing, not to cease stealing men and women, but to build churches for the stolen people, and teach them the Christian religion, as held by their ravishers; and to let them marry in the land of bondage, after having snatched them from their natural homes, in their own country. The "young Duke of Gloucester," as he was then called by the veterans in the cause, saw the impious folly of this trifling; and he told, simply and briefly, what he had seen of the trade and its consequences. His cousins, the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex, came forward as the spokesmen of their family on the question: and a miserable exhibition it was. Men's hearts might well fail them when they saw such an opening of the political life of the King's sons: when they saw how meagre was the intellect, and how sordid the sentiment, brought to bear on a question which could not but elicit the generosity of youth and the magnanimity of high station, if such generosity and magnanimity had been there. But whatever ardour there was, was on behalf of the traders and planters; and if there was indignation, it was at the idea that France might profit by our rectitude and humanity. These manifestations, and the sly and yet boastful activity of the Dukes of York and Cum-

Hansard, viii. 668.

THE PRINCES.

Hansard, viii. 665.

Ib., viii. 664. 683. iii. 235.

1807. berland in helping to overthrow the Administration, are the first scenes in the political life of the King's younger sons. What the position and conduct of the eldest were, we have seen. The best men perceived the least to hope for from the royal family.—The sentiment of the country and of parliament was now, however, too strong for even royal upholders of the traffic in slaves. In the morning of the decisive day in the Lords, Mr. Wilberforce and Lord Grenville counted above seventy peers on whose votes they might surely reckon. The Minister's stately mind and manners relaxed into a mood positively genial; and he, for once, let men see that he could feel the glow of hope and the bliss of aspiration, like other men. His speeches towards the conclusion of this great controversy are as ardent as his friend Fox could well have made. He was not too sanguine. At five in the morning of the 6th of February, the decisive vote was taken, when the Bill was supported by a majority of 100 to 36. Lord St. Vincent, who held with his lost friend, Nelson, that Abolition of the Slave Trade was a "damnable and cursed doctrine," held only by hypocrites, entered his solemn and final protest against this measure of national ruin, and walked out of the House. Not the less did the Bill pass its third reading without opposition.

Hansard, viii. 672.

Ib., viii. 693.

Counsel had been heard on behalf of the Planters; and the same aid was granted them in the Commons. Most people considered the question now carried: but Wilberforce found still "a terrific list of doubtfuls," though many "West Indians" were with him. When the debates came on, it was found that the old apathy was all gone. The young noblemen in the Commons, and others, were as eager to speak on the side of "justice and humanity" as any representatives of the planters to plead against the insertion of those words in the preamble of the Bill. Half-a-dozen at a time started up, to show that the slave trade was incompatible with justice and humanity. The decisive vote was taken on the 23rd of February, when the House seems to have been wrought up to a high pitch of excitement. When the Solicitor-General, Romilly, concluded his speech, the members broke through all rule, and burst into loud acclamation. The passage which roused the enthusiasm was this: "When he looked to the man at the head of the French monarchy, surrounded as he was with all the pomp of power, and all the pride of victory, distributing kingdoms to his family, and principalities to his followers, seeming, when he sat upon his throne, to have reached the summit of human ambition, and the pinnacle of earthly happiness; and when he followed that man into his closet or to his bed, and considered the pangs with which his solitude must be tortured, and his repose banished, by the recollection of the blood he had spilled, and the oppressions he had committed; and when he compared with those pangs of remorse, the feelings which must accompany his honourable friend

Ib., viii. 978.

(Mr. Wilberforce) from that house to his home, after the vote of that night should have confirmed the object of his humane and unceasing labours; when he should retire into the bosom of his happy and delighted family, when he should lay himself down on his bed, reflecting on the innumerable voices that would be raised in every quarter of the world to bless him; how much more pure and permanent felicity must he enjoy, in the consciousness of having preserved so many millions of his fellow-creatures, than the man with whom he had compared him, on the throne to which he had waded through slaughter and oppression!" It is easily understood how, at that moment of our history, this passage must have met the sentiment of the hearers. It was not the time for them to see that the measure before them could not achieve the intended good: nor could it be expected that even the just and candid Romilly should suppose Napoleon capable of any views beyond those of the grossest personal ambition, or that he could mingle any higher ideas with those of a crown and a wide territory. If time has opened a somewhat broader and deeper view to us, we can yet sympathize with the virtuous triumphs of that night. The vote was 283 to 16. Several comrades went home with Wilberforce after the House was up. "Well, Henry," said he to his friend Thornton, "what shall we abolish next?" "The lottery, I think," was the answer. William Smith said, "Let us make out the names of these sixteen miscreants. I have four of them." "Never mind," said Wilberforce, who was kneeling on one knee at the table, writing a note, and looking up as he spoke. "Never mind the miserable sixteen: let us think of our glorious 283." This was a happy hour: and so was that in which Lord Grenville, next day, wrote to Wilberforce, on hearing of the decisive vote. "I really feel quite overpowered with the thoughts of this success," wrote "that proud man," from whom Pitt could not draw such expressions of feeling. Yet all was not safe, even now. It was judged best to give up the declaration in the preamble that the slave trade was contrary to justice and humanity, though the condemnation in terms remained sufficiently strong. The third reading took place on the 16th of March; and on the 18th, the Bill was carried up to the Lords. By that time, it was well known that the Grenville Ministry was out, or on the point of being so; and there seemed too much reason to fear that the measure would fall to the ground, after all, between two Ministries—so zealous as the Princes and the India planters took occasion to show themselves. But Mr. Perceval was on the side of the abolitionists; and even Lord Eldon thought the matter had gone too far to be decently stopped. And the departing Ministers were anxious for the honour of this Bill becoming law during their term of office. On the 23rd, the amendments of the Commons (chiefly consisting of a declaration of penalties on the infringement of the Act) were con-

1807.

Hansard, viii. 995.

Life, iii. 298.

Life of Wilberforce, iii. 301.

Hansard, ix. 169.

1807. sidered in the Lords; and Lord Westmoreland offered his final protest, in vain. "Our existence depended on the strength of our navy," he said: "and the strength of our navy was chiefly derived from the slave trade." Nevertheless, the trade was finally condemned and prohibited; Lord Grenville rose once more, and "congratulated the House on having now performed one of the most glorious acts that had ever been done by any assembly of any nation in the world." It was the last Act of the Grenville Administration — of the last Whig Administration for nearly a quarter of a century. The Royal Assent was given on the 25th of March — the day on which the Ministers delivered up the seals.

Hansard, ix. 170.

Bill becomes Law. Ib., ix. 187.

Among the many difficulties caused to Ministers by the death of Mr. Fox, the greatest was the temper and condition of Ireland. While Mr. Fox lived, the Catholics knew that the best would be done for them that circumstances would admit of; and under the rule of the Duke of Bedford, the present Viceroy, employment and honour were given impartially to Catholics and Protestants, so far as the law allowed. The propitiatory effect of such a method of ruling had been shown in the success of the Viceroy in putting down (as has been mentioned before) the insurrection of "the Threshers" by the ordinary powers of the law—assisted as it was by the efforts of the orderly part of society. If Mr. Fox had lived, such an impartial rule as that of the Duke of Bedford might have won over the disaffected in time, and given more years of preparation for the experiment of Catholic emancipation. But, now that he was gone, and the Catholics were again taking their own cause into their own hands, it was evident that there was extreme peril in continuing their disability to rise in the army and in the state, and in refusing to alter the relations of the Irish church to the Irish people. Some of the most enlightened men who were watching the signs of the times felt and said that it would be a fatal omission, if another session of parliament should pass without justice being done to the brave Irish soldier and the loyal Irish citizen.—Lord Grenville proposed as a beginning an improvement so small that it was fairly regarded merely as a correction of an oversight; a correction rendered necessary by the Union of the two countries in a period of war. It was also the redemption of an express pledge. It could hardly be conceived that any one could object to it; and at first, no one did effectually object to it—not even the King, with his morbid nerves, and his hasty and obtuse understanding, and his obstinate temper. Though he had called the broadest distinctions "Scotch metaphysics" when propounded to him by Lord Melville, he could not, and did not object, except as a matter of feeling, to the improvement which Lord Grenville proposed to him at the beginning of February, 1807.

The Catholics.

Irish Act of 1793.

An Act had been passed in Ireland in 1793, and the govern-

ment of the day positively promised its extension to England, by which Roman Catholics were permitted to hold the rank of Colonel in the army, with, of course, all inferior and corresponding dignities. As this Act had not been made operative, as promised, out of Ireland, it was found that Irish regiments could not be brought to England without subjecting their Catholic officers to penalties for not having taken the oaths required by law. The Irish Act expressly restricted Roman Catholics from holding the offices of Commander-in-chief, Master-general of the Ordnance, and General of the Staff. The quarrel now about to take place was about this restriction. 1807. Hansard, ix. 266.

PROPOSED EXTENSION TO ENGLAND.

Lord Grenville represented to the King, that, by the Union, Irish soldiers were required to serve in England and Scotland, while yet they were subjected to penalties in England which had been abrogated in Ireland. He proposed to extend the provisions of the Irish Act to England: and the King gave his assent. As soon as the leading Tories heard this, they began to be alarmed, and prepared to stir and cabal. They were indignant that "the King's friends" in the Cabinet, Lords Sidmouth and Ellenborough, offered only a feeble opposition to this. Lord Malmesbury ventured to intimate that the measure seemed merely just; but Lord Eldon and Mr. Perceval declared it to be unnecessary, as nobody would put the law in force against Irish officers, if they were really wanted for the defence of the country. Such was their notion of justice, and prudence, and decency of political manners! At the same time, these loyal men concluded that the King's health must be in a bad state—his mind apathetic—his faculties weak. It is surprising how soon they discovered the excellence of his understanding, when he once began to countenance their caballing. Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 366.

The Ministers proposed to add a clause to the Mutiny Bill, by which the provisions of the Irish Act of 1793 would be extended to England. In a despatch to the Viceroy this intention was communicated: and he was requested to prevent the Catholics from renewing their petitions to parliament just at present, when they could do no good, and might do harm. This despatch was laid before the King on the 9th of February, when he approved of preventing the Catholics from petitioning, but disapproved of the plan in their favour. The Cabinet presented a Memorial (it being the King's desire that the whole business should be conducted in writing) in which they pointed out that what they proposed was merely the fulfilment of an engagement entered into by his authority, and sanctioned by his government in the Act of 1793. They further indicated the peril that must arise from the exclusion of Catholics from the military defence of the country, during a period of war. The King sent, the next day, an answer exactly like the former one: the Catholics must not petition, and they should have no privileges. His Ministers ought to remember what happened seven years ago, and never to mention the subject again.—The Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 452.

1807. Cabinet held council that night, and forwarded another explanation. Before the King answered it, he saw Lord Sidmouth on other business, and questioned him about his opinion, as a good anti-catholic, of this matter. Lord Sidmouth declared afterwards that he told his Majesty that one thing or another must be done: the Irish Act must be repealed, or its provisions must be extended to England. The consequence of this conversation was that the King gave a reluctant consent to the necessary clause being added to the Mutiny Bill, declaring that he never would go one step further, and that he hoped the subject would never again be mentioned to him. The despatch was sent to the Viceroy.

Hansard, ix. 393.

Proposed Removal of Restrictions.

The Viceroy summoned the leading Catholics to hear the intentions of government. One of the Catholic gentlemen asked whether the restriction in the Irish Act was to be carried into the English one. Mr. Elliot, the Irish Secretary, said that it was not: but, thinking afterwards that he might have answered for too much, he wrote home for clear information on this point. This is the strangest part of the story. The King had declared repeatedly, and so had "the King's friends" in the Cabinet, that they would never consent to any new concessions to the Catholics: and yet Lord Howick avowed in the House, "I must confess that I had not myself sufficiently attended to the distinction between it and the Irish Act." It was found that the King and some members of the Cabinet "had not been fully aware of the extent" of the new provision. The whole subject was again discussed in the Cabinet, and it was determined, in opposition to Lord Sidmouth, who was outvoted, to write out at length for the Lord Lieutenant the proposed clauses, and to tell him moreover, in the most express manner, that the measure laid open to Catholics the whole army and navy service, without any restriction whatever. This introduction of the naval service into the question, and the removal of all restriction with regard to service in the army, ought undoubtedly to have been made clear to the King by express consultation: but this was not done. The correspondence and the despatches to the Lord Lieutenant were laid before him; he returned them without remark; and his Ministers sent them to their destination. Whether the King's bad sight was answerable for this, or whether he read the papers indolently, or passed them over as containing nothing new, there is no saying now. All we know is that his Ministers took silence for consent, though he had declared, recently and plainly enough, that he never would agree to any new concessions. It was on the 2nd of March that the papers were thus returned, and forwarded to Ireland.

Hansard, ix. 267.

Lord Sidmouth was not satisfied that the King knew what he was about, and urged his colleagues to come to some explanation with him. This they declined, seeing no necessity for it, as the King had seen all their papers, and fearing to agitate him unnecessarily.

Lord Sidmouth declared that he would not introduce the subject in the royal presence; but that, if a fair opportunity offered, he should still tell the King what he thought of the danger of opening the navy, and staff offices in the army, to the Catholics. As might be expected, the opportunity soon occurred. On the 4th of March, several of the Ministers saw the King. He asked Lord Howick what business was coming forward in the House; and Lord Howick then explained to him that, for reasons which he assigned, it was thought better to bring forward a separate Bill on the Catholic subject than to tack it upon the Mutiny Bill. The provisions were fully discussed; and Lord Howick understood the King to assent to them, though with extreme dislike and reluctance. Lord Howick immediately told Lord Grenville what had passed, and they agreed that the consent on which they had proceeded thus far had not been withdrawn: and this conclusion was confirmed by the total silence of the King to Lord Grenville on this subject in an audience on the same day.—But Lord Sidmouth had also an audience on the same day: and he appears to have introduced the subject himself, and in such a way as to alarm and agitate the King. The King asked him what he meant to do; and his answer was that he should oppose the measure, even if it had the royal concurrence. He left the King much disturbed, and declaring that he would never go beyond the extension to England of the Act of 1793.—On the 6th, however, Lord Howick introduced the new Bill in the Commons. 1807. Hansard, ix. 269.

One curious feature of this case is expressly described by Lord Malmesbury—that a large number of persons, in both Houses of Parliament, were now not so much opposed to Catholic emancipation as bound by loyalty to the King, and to the memory of Mr. Pitt, not to allow the subject to be stirred during the King's life. Lord Camden and many others were in this position, bound by promise to Mr. Pitt that the King should not be disturbed, if they could help it. If now the Ministers brought forward a Bill, with the assumed consent of the King, such men would have no pretence for holding their old ground; and the Catholics might be emancipated in a trice. No time was therefore to be lost, said the enemies of the Administration and of the Catholics, in coming to the rescue of the King—in bringing him back to his "principles," and presenting him to the nation as the true Protestant sovereign that he had always been, and that they found him still to be when they obtained his ear. They went vigorously to work. The second reading of the Bill was fixed for the 12th of March. On the 11th, Lord Sidmouth sent in his resignation; and, from his objecting to negotiation with Mr. Canning, and from another note of his to Lord Grenville in the same week, it appears as if there was a plan for removing Lord Howick to the Upper House, and giving his office to Mr. Canning. It seems that Mr. Canning Diaries, iv. 378. CABALS. Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 461. Life of Canning, p. 223.

1807. warned Ministers that there were plots for displacing them, and entreated them to come to an understanding with the King, instead of leaving him to the evil influences of their enemies. Lord Grenville begged of Lord Sidmouth not to be in a hurry: but Lord Sidmouth had already informed the King of his resignation, and had been graciously commanded to remain in his office.

On that day, two old Tories sat together, consulting for hours as to what they could do to bring out the King in full force against his Ministers. The Duke of Portland was infirm, diseased, exhausted—"kept up" in busy times only by laudanum and cordials, and apt to fall asleep over the most important letters that were put into his hands to read—dilatory, inert, disposed to dead silence himself, but unable to get rid of gossips and prosers: but he was the man looked to as the head of the Tory Ministry, whenever there should be one. The Tories shook their heads about his health; but always ended by settling that the Duke of Portland must be their *chef*. Lord Malmesbury was now too deaf and infirm to be a Cabinet Minister: but, as a wily old diplomatist, he was invaluable to his party. At least, he thought himself so; and he appears to have been in their confidence still; though his diaries convey to the reader some impression of his being now nearly worn out—more fond of plots and secrets than ever, but less capable of bringing out any result; more full of cunning and self-importance, with less and less of the wisdom and genuine spirit of business which had made him a really distinguished diplomatist in his younger days, when the transactions of nations, and not of political parties, were watched and guided by him. These two wily and self-complacent old politicians sat long together, on this 11th of March, consulting about the overthrow of the Grenville Administration, and flattering each other and themselves about their loyalty, without, apparently, any thought about the Catholics, one way or another. "After considering the business in every point of view," they agreed that they could do nothing "effective" till they knew what the King's mind really was. They suspected he could not like his Ministers' proceedings: but if it should chance that he did, it would never do for them to be working against him. Next morning, however, the Duke sent for his gossip; and they spent five hours together. The Duke was so uneasy about the King, that he thought of telling him his mind in a letter: and, with a world of pains, the letter was concocted, altered, amended, copied and sent. It may be seen among the Malmesbury papers: and it may be questioned whether a more insolent and dangerous piece of interference ever was perpetrated, under a government subject to rules of principle and manners. The loyal men who deprecated the unsettling of the royal mind by the mention of the Catholic claims had no scruple about shaking the King's nerves by a letter full of pompous alarm and evil boding. The sum of the letter was,

Diaries, iv. 367

Ibid., iv. 368.

that the Duke of Portland offered to be Prime Minister, to help his King out of his present scrape. The receipt of the letter was merely acknowledged, without remark, and the old men were evidently mortified: but meantime, the King had "signified his orders" to two nephews of the Duke of Portland, to vote against the measure brought forward by his Cabinet. Ladies about the Court went to and fro with mysterious messages and items of news, while the gentlemen sat solemnly amusing themselves with making Cabinets, and calling this patriotism. The Duke of Portland was "noble and magnanimous" in permitting his admirers to hail him as Chief, while his infirmities, as he said, unfitted him for the post: but he would die at that post. There is something ludicrous, but, at the same time, very disgusting, in the mysterious bustling of these unsought office-seekers, caballing in the dark, and patriotically devoting themselves in a cause where they were not wanted. "No urging was necessary" to induce the Duke of Portland to nominate himself Prime Minister: but, if it had been, his friends could have said nothing after his own account of his state of health, which would cause him to perish in the attempt "to serve his King and his country." "Settling Administrations" now appears among the items of daily business of Lord Malmesbury. All this while, the unconscious Ministers were going on with their affairs in good faith, little imagining what trickery was transacting behind their backs. When at last it became known to them that there had been some tampering with the King, and other shabby behaviour, they suspected Lord Sidmouth—naturally and unavoidably; and it is only recently that, by the publication of the Malmesbury Diaries, and some other memoirs of the time, the full iniquity of the transactions has become known, and the disgrace fixed upon the right persons. Lord Sidmouth seems to have been merely weak, as usual, and not treacherous to his colleagues.

1807.

Diaries, iv. 371.

THE KING'S RETRACTATION.

On the 13th, the King sent for Lords Grenville and Howick, and told them that he would never consent to their Bill: and on this Mr. Canning told Lord Grenville that his duty had become clear. He had already refused to take office at this time: and now he saw that he must support the King, as all Mr. Pitt's friends would feel themselves bound to do. They had only waited to be certain of the King's wishes. He declared at the same time that he would never sit in the same Cabinet with Lord Sidmouth. At that very hour, Mr. Perceval was declining overtures from Lord Sidmouth to unite against the Bill, and come into power together. It appears that Perceval also would never sit in the same Cabinet with Lord Sidmouth. Not an individual connected with Lord Melville would support the government if Lord Sidmouth were in it. The Ministerial majority in parliament too were so wrathful against the same unfortunate politician that no new Administra-

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 375.

1807. tion which included him would have a chance: and thus, amidst this "sickening scene" as Lord Eldon called it, of secret Cabinet making, the only point settled by common consent seems to have been the exclusion of Lord Sidmouth.

Life, ii. 31.

The Measure dropped. Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 463.

On the 15th, Lord Grenville notified to Lord Sidmouth that he was sending to the King a paper in which his Ministers expressed their willingness to let the Bill drop altogether. He did not know what the result would be; but he should learn the next day, when he was going to Windsor. On the preceding evening, Saturday the 14th, the Cabinet had sat late, much "unpleasant conversation" passing which settled nothing; and the resolution to drop the Bill was adopted at a meeting of the Grenville portion of the Cabinet on the Sunday. In offering to withdraw the Bill, the Ministers reserved to themselves the right of expressing their opinions on the subject of the Catholic claims whenever Catholic petitions came up to parliament, and of offering such advice about Ireland to the sovereign, at all times, as they should conceive the needs of the state to require. This ought to have been better noted at the time than we find it to have been. Notwithstanding the efforts of the most enlightened persons in parliament to exhibit the fact that the Grenville Ministry did not go out on the Catholic question, but on a very different one, their enemies, followed by too many narrators since, have turned away attention from the real ground of their overthrow. The King's answer expressed satisfaction that the Bill was to drop; regret that his Ministers should think it necessary to state in parliament their good-will to the Catholic claims; and a positive disallowance of the latter part of their minute, which he desired them to withdraw. He required from them a pledge, that they never would, under any circumstances, propose to him any concessions to the Catholics, or offer any advice whatever to him on any part of that subject. Such a pledge it was, of course, impossible for Ministers of any party or way of thinking to give. It is the duty of Ministers, as agreed on all hands, "to advise the King, and to give, without favour or affection, that counsel which they think best for the country." The bigotted and irritable sovereign, while so alarmed for the Protestant Constitution, forgot this great constitutional principle; and on behalf of the principle of the responsibility of Ministers it was that the Grenville Administration went out, letting in the Tories to rule for nearly a quarter of a century.

Hansard, ix. 275.

Hansard, ix. 243, 275.

Requisition of the King.

Hansard, ix. 243.

Refused.

On the 18th, Wednesday, the Ministers, in presence of the King, uttered their reasons for declining to give the pledge he required of them. He treated them civilly, expressed satisfaction with every part of their conduct up to the time of the dispute on the Catholic question, and declared his intention of "looking out for other Ministers." Some who were "looking out for" a summons to the royal presence waited in vain—waited in the sickness of deferred

hope. The Duke of Portland had not, as yet, been thanked for his offer of the Premiership to himself. His friend Malmesbury reasoned with him about dates. "The Duke was struck with this, and rallied:" and he immediately proceeded to settle what secretaries he should want.—It was from a fresh party that the plotters heard at last what was doing. Lord Camden informed them that Lords Eldon and Hawkesbury had been called up at one in the morning of the 19th, by a royal messenger who desired them to be at Windsor by ten. Whether the return of royal patronage dazzled the eyes and intoxicated the understandings of the returning party, or whether they really were men incapable of making distinctions—unapt at "Scotch metaphysics"—we cannot say; but the amount of mistake among them on this occasion would be incredible if it were not recorded by themselves. The King gave the two Lords the whole bundle of papers to read: and the same papers were read by Lord Hardwicke and the Bishop of Lincoln: and the two pairs of readers gave such different accounts of their purport as completely to puzzle the plotters. The first pair of readers found in the minutes of Ministers such hard conditions that they devoutly agreed with the King when he appealed to them whether his choice had not been to surrender his Ministers or his throne; while the other pair found in the papers no hard conditions at all. But the King's tone decided that of his new officers; and we find Lord Eldon pitying himself for being called out of his retirement, but unable to refuse to assist his old gracious Master in struggling for the established religion and his throne. Now that this appeal was made, we find the King pronounced to be "remarkably well—firm as a lion—and placid and quiet beyond any former moment of his life"—determined "to be the Protestant King of a Protestant country, or no King at all." The Duke of Portland was now happy at last. The two Lords were desired by the King to command him to form an administration, in consultation with Lord Chatham; and by the evening of the 19th, the Duke was writing to Lord Chatham. In a few days, the new Administration was settled. Lord Wellesley, after much wavering, declined joining it. It seems to have been understood that Mr. Perceval was to be the chief Minister in reality, though it was necessary to place the failing and slow Duke of Portland nominally at the head. Mr. Perceval was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Canning was Foreign Secretary; Lord Hawkesbury Home Secretary; and Lord Castlereagh War and Colonial Secretary. Lord Eldon was Chancellor; and the Duke of Richmond Viceroy of Ireland. Lord Bathurst went to the Board of Trade, with George Rose under him. Earls Camden and Westmoreland were President of the Council and Lord Privy Seal.

1807.

Diaries, iv. 378.

MINISTRY DISMISSED.

Diaries, iv. 383.

Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 31. 34.

NEW ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

On the 25th of March, the old Ministers surrendered the seals—all but Erskine, who remained another week to decide some causes

1807. in Chancery. He used to tell how amazed his colleagues looked when he came forth, with the seals still in his hand, from the royal closet, "unhurt, like Daniel from the lion's den." When, at length, the seals were given to Lord Eldon, the King expressed a hope that Lord Eldon would keep them till the close of the reign. Lord Eldon evidently thought the new administration would be a short one, though he found the King had more sense and understanding than all his late Ministers—"All the Talents"—put together; and was now to be supported by a set of perfectly obedient servants.

Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 32.

Ib., ii. 34.

As Mr. Perceval was withdrawn from a lucrative practice, it was intended to provide for him by giving him the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster for life; but this was defeated by the result of a motion made by Mr. Henry Martin, and carried by a large majority, to address the King, praying him not to grant for life that or any other office which had usually been granted during pleasure.

Hansard, ix. 219.

Grant of Offices in Reversion, or for life.

During the recess, the new government, and all connected with it, made the most of their time in raising the old No Popery cry. Mr. Perceval appealed to his constituents to support him in aiding his sovereign to maintain the true religion. The Duke of Portland, as Chancellor of Oxford University, and the Duke of Cumberland, as Chancellor of that of Dublin, wrote to their Universities, avowedly by the wish of the King, to desire that they would petition parliament against concessions to the Catholics. But the case of the dismissed Ministry was not yet done with. Mr. Brand had given notice of a resolution, which was discussed on the 9th of April (on the reassembling of parliament after Easter), that it was contrary to the first duties of Ministers to restrain themselves by any pledge from offering to the sovereign any advice which circumstances may render necessary. This truth was supposed to be so evident that the Grenville party never doubted its being affirmed, and supposed themselves in a majority of at least twenty, while locked out in the lobby at six in the morning. They had agreed to bring on some further resolutions, with the same bearing, that evening, when they found that they had lost the question. Its defeat was procured by appeals on behalf of the King, and threats of a dissolution, if it was carried. The King's age and conscientiousness were dwelt upon, and his zeal for the church; and his having acted on his own responsibility, without any advice from any quarter; and the awkward position he would be placed in, if waited on by a deputation, and compelled to hear the resolution, which was in fact one of censure on himself. These considerations prevailed over the indisputable truth of the resolution, and it was lost by a majority of 32 in a House of 484.

"No Popery" Cry.

Memoirs of Romilly, ii. 193.

Mr. Brand's Motion. Hansard, ix. 286.

Ib., ix. 348.

It was found necessary to dissolve parliament after all. On taking the Great Seal, Lord Eldon had said it would not be in his

Dissolution of Parliament.

1807.

hands a month if there was not a dissolution; so strong were the Whigs in the Commons. The Royal Speech, of the 27th of April, is a curiosity in its way. It professed to put on trial, before the nation, the King's recent conduct, in support of religion and the throne; and appealed to the Catholics, by all the indulgences granted them during his reign, to support a sovereign so faithful to his duties, and to the cause of toleration. It surely must have been the wrong-headed Perceval who composed this singular speech. He was already the life and soul of the new ministry. Two days before the delivery of the speech, Lord Malmesbury had thus soliloquized in his Diary, about his old friend at the head of the ministry: "In the course of the last three weeks, it has, from various little facts, struck me that the Duke of Portland's colleagues are swerving from him; that they take a great deal on themselves, immediately belonging to *him*, and treat him more as a nominal, than as a real, head of the ministry."

Hansard, ix. 652.

Diaries, iv. 394.

THE SHORT ADMINISTRATION.

The "Short Administration," as it was called, had done as much as could have been expected from it, under the extremely adverse circumstances of its existence. Its chief value, however, was in the testimony which it offered to high principles of society and government. If it could not achieve continental peace, the actual security of the negro in his own land, political and commercial equality for Ireland, and religious liberty throughout our empire, it testified to all these principles, and asserted all these rights. It was the last opportunity for offering such a testimony and assertion from the places of power, for a long course of anxious years.

END OF BOOK I.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

1807. THE PORTLAND ADMINISTRATION

IT remains a wonder, to this day, that the country escaped absolute ruin from misgovernment during the critical years whose history we have now to disclose. The imbecility of the Portland Administration is no matter of dispute. In differing moods of contempt, of wrath, and of simple wonder, the fact is admitted in all the memoirs of the time. Lords Eldon and Malmesbury at one end of the political scale, and Cobbett and Burdett at the other, treat the fact as admitted. It has been seen how, in April, the Premier was neglected by his Cabinet; how they were already falling off from him, and acting on their own notions. The matter did not mend with time. As the months passed on, the Duke of Portland took more laudanum, suffered more pain, and sank more under it; sat for hours in dead silence, and as if hearing nothing, though he kept a friend or two by him, to save him from being alone; and about midnight began to revive, being in full flow of such political wisdom as he had by one or two o'clock in the morning. Endless difficulty arose from his lethargy; and, in one case at least, fatal mischief. At the most critical period of the century, we had a King with an infirm brain, and a Prime Minister dying of torturing disease and opiates; while the family of the one, and the Cabinet of the other, offered little ground for hope or reliance. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York were now soon to show their quality. In the Cabinet were two of the weakest men then engaged in public affairs—Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh. Lord Chatham was soon to prove himself beneath contempt in his function, though he was the brother of William Pitt. Whatever Lord Eldon was as a lawyer, he was of the lowest order of politicians; and he now classed himself with Hawkesbury and the other weak members of the Cabinet, entertaining a virulent hatred against Canning, and some jealousy of Perceval. The talk of these men when they met

was of the profits of a political position—of complimenting and binding their friends by gifts of office, by seats in parliament, by consideration of one sort or another; and in the record, we find a ludicrous assumed tone of dignity, benevolence, and magnanimity, running through the whole. We read a vast deal about "friendship and handsome acts," in the giving away of sinecures, and permitting pluralities of lay offices; and find that, at this date, there were fifty-three candidates for peerage, "to none of which the King would listen." Mr. Perceval, though not adequate to his position, was of a higher order than these. If he had had an intellect of a somewhat better quality, and the training which such an intellect would have secured for itself, he would have been an excellent man. He was strictly virtuous in the private relations of life, was absolutely honourable, very amiable, and of a generosity and disinterestedness which were the more remarkable from the absence of those qualities of the intellect with which they are usually allied. He had poor powers of reasoning, and none of imagination; and therefore his strong religious sensibilities made him a bigot, and the force of his unreasoned convictions drove him into an abusive dogmatism. He could never see what was not before his eyes; and therefore the people fared badly under his rule. (We speak already of his rule, because he was now virtually the head of the Cabinet.) He could never understand how any one could hold views unlike his own; and therefore, while gentle, agreeable, and well-bred towards his family and personal friends, he was grossly abusive towards opponents in parliament, and a pragmatical despot wherever he could make himself felt further abroad. His comrades complained of him as being "too parsimonious," when the object was to afford subsidies to Austria for the continental war: but the rest of his administration shows that this was from no consideration for the heavily taxed people, but probably because he could not stretch the vision of his mind so as to comprehend objects so remote. Sydney Smith has left a sketch of him "paying the strictest attention to the smaller parts of ecclesiastical government, to hassocks, to psalters, and to surplices; in the last agonies of England, bringing in a Bill to regulate Easter offerings; and adjusting the stipends of curates, when the flag of France is unfurled on the hills of Kent:" and again, walking to Hampstead church in advance of his dozen children, "with their faces washed, and their hair pleasingly combed," while all Ireland was ready to rise in exasperation at his treatment of the Catholics; and Mr. Perceval has himself left us, in certain letters to Mr. Wilberforce, evidence of his dread that the meeting of parliament on a Monday should occasion Sunday travelling among M. P.s, at a moment when he should have felt himself quite care-laden enough, without undertaking the charge of other gentlemen's Sunday morals: but this pernicious absurdity,

1807.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 397.

MR. PERCEVAL.

Life of Wilberforce. iii. 397.

1807. while making him more hated by the people than rank vice would have done, arose from the narrowness of his intellectual range, and by no means from any harshness, hypocrisy, or pride, in the temper of the man. He was beloved by all who came near him: and the stern and virtuous Romilly bears the same testimony on this point as every body else. He abstained from intercourse with him, because he did not think it right to enjoy the engaging social qualities of one whose political rule he totally abhorred. They had long maintained "a delightful intimacy;" and Perceval strove earnestly against the alienation which Romilly willed, but did not cease to regret. In regard to purpose and persistency, Perceval was among the few strong members of the Cabinet. In regard to ability, he was among the many weak. During the session which was now to begin, he made a remarkably feeble appearance in his place. His parliamentary friends accounted for it by supposing him worn out with fatigue and anxiety by illness in his family. However this might be, he was far from answering the expectations of any party during the short session of 1807.—At that juncture, the post of First Admiralty Lord was of very high importance. In the state of Europe at the time, and under Napoleon's system of Continental blockade, the holder of that office, Lord Mulgrave, was one of the most important men in the government. Lord Melville told him that he had it in his power to do more good to his country within twelve months than perhaps any other man in it. He brought forward Lord Palmerston into official life, and also Mr. Croker, whose name thenceforward became connected with Admiralty business. Lord Mulgrave was a man of sense, with whom Canning seems to have agreed very well.—Canning was the strong man of the government;—so strong that the others did not know what to make of him; and he did not know how to get on with them. He was the eagle in the dovecote, or rather among the owls. He fluttered the Volces in their Corioli so tremendously that we find them heartily wishing that their gates had never shut him in among them. His most sanguine and affectionate elderly friends considered him as "hardly yet a statesman." It seems as if his exuberant activity, and his boyish petulance and fun made them forget how old and how wise he really was. He was thirty-seven; and he immediately showed that he was as fit for office as he ought to be at that age, if ever. He was surrounded with difficulties, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Every thing had, for years past, gone wrong abroad; and at home the discipline of his office was so lax that he had every thing to reform. Not only were we feebly or falsely represented abroad; at home, no secrets were kept. The clerks were gossips, and the messengers were lazy; and Mr. Canning had quite troubles enough with his colleagues, without the aggravations that might be caused by the

Memoirs of Romilly, iii. 37.

Lord Mulgrave.

Mr. Canning.

tongues of underlings. His work connected him chiefly with Lord Mulgrave on the one hand, and with Lord Castlereagh, the War Secretary, on the other. With Lord Mulgrave he could act easily and agreeably; with Lord Castlereagh it was impossible. Lord Castlereagh was gentlemanly, amiable, and pliable; but he was weak, and wholly incompetent to his function; and Canning was not one who could easily tolerate folly at any time; and when it was made mischievous by being put in a high place, it was exasperating to him. We shall soon see the consequences. Meantime, we find old diplomatists and practised politicians—all who knew what Canning was doing—astonished at the ability he manifested. It was destined to be a mere specimen of what he could do; for he was unfortunately placed, and his position was a most insecure one. He had alienated the Grenville and Grey party, which included nearly all the ability except his own; and he was every day respecting less the men with whom he was acting—very few of whom regarded him as a comrade. To work he went, however, persuading the King to write to the Emperor of Russia in friendly style, while there was yet time to forestall Napoleon in the wooing of the weak Russian: sending out new men to foreign Courts, furnished with elaborate instructions about schemes of policy which were all to be ruined by the folly of others; suggesting ideas to the Army and Navy Ministers of diversions which should leave a central battle-field clear for renewed efforts for the liberties of Europe; diversions which became desperate failures as soon as they passed from being his ideas to being other people's acts; and, the while, peremptorily insisting on that dissolution of parliament, which was found to be necessary, after his party had for some weeks doubted the need. 1807.

NEW HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The new Administration made prodigious and irresistible efforts to have a House of Commons of their own. Mr. Tierney, who managed the business of buying seats for the friends of the Grenville Ministry, could get none. £6,000 were given for seats, without any stipulation as to the length of the parliament, though the last had existed only four months. The new Ministers had bought up all the seats that were to be had, and at any prices. It was said and believed that the King had advanced a very large sum out of his privy purse, for the purpose. The leading Opposition men had great difficulty in getting in; and few of them were returned for the places they had previously represented. In the last parliament, the new Ministers had with difficulty mustered a majority of 32: now they had one of nearly 200. No one supposed this to be any indication of a change in popular feeling. The people did not look to parliament to reflect the mind of the nation. Some of them who were alarmed at the cry of the Church and the throne being in danger from Lords Grey and Grenville, sent up addresses of thundering loyalty; but these were chiefly

Memoirs of Romilly, ii. 200.

ASPECT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

1807. from Chapters and Corporations. The Whig party, in their grief at the extinction of their last hope of popular benefit from Whig rule, used language of such violence as commonly belongs only to faction: and they were considered factious accordingly. The people were sick of factions; and they turned to men who professed to be of no party, but presented themselves as chivalrous champions of popular rights, waging war for the people against all the world. Now was Cobbett read in a hundred thousand homes; and now was Burdett worshipped in the streets. He appeared in the extremest glory of bad taste, on the day of the opening of the new parliament, in a triumphal car—his face pale, his air languid, his wounded leg—wounded in a duel with his old friend Paull—stretched on a cushion, and the other foot so placed on a footstool as to appear to be trampling on a figure inscribed "Venality and Corruption."—In the midst of all the violence on every hand, thoughtful and earnest men carried heavy hearts within them. To the Horners and the Romillys, and some in private life like-minded with them, there was a mournful solace in turning from the spectacle before their eyes, and from pondering on the decay of liberty, and the deterioration of the idea of it in the minds of Englishmen, to enjoy the assertion of its principles in the then new work—Fox's History of the Reign of James II. There they could fully possess themselves with the idea of what they were losing; and they could glory once more in what Englishmen could do, when in manifest peril of their hard-won liberties. It is one of the most touching traits of the time—the recourse which despairing politicians had to literature, as a congenial diversion from the anxiety amidst which they lived. Once more was Napoleon to be expected on our shores—at liberty as he now was, from having carried all before him, and reduced to vassalage almost every sovereign on the continent. Many of the most sensible men in the country thought an invasion more probable in the summer of 1807 than ever before: and yet, the training for defence which had been prosecuted with so much vigour when the alarm was fresher, was now neglected. Royalty, nobility and gentry were too much engrossed with humbling and insulting Catholic soldiers to attend to the defence of the country; and shabby little French privateers came, two or three together, within musket shot from Eastbourne, or other places where the people were likely to be half asleep, laughed at our martello towers (brick-built, so as to be likely to fall in with the weight of the gun, on a shot being fired at the centre), hooked as many vessels as would pay for the adventure, and made off, in sight of the indignant summer visitors, who could only fret and fume, on pier or cliff. At one time, the national defenders were at church: at another, the commanding officer was out partridge-shooting. In one place, there were cannon without ammunition: in another, there was ammunition without cannon. One way or

Annual Reg., 1807, p. 237.

another, many a cargo was thus carried off, and many a crew went to a French prison, from the neglect of brethren at home—notwithstanding all the boast of forts, towers, regiments, ironbound cliffs, and defensive canals. At the same time, a spirit of "savagery,"— so called by patriots of that time—seemed to have taken possession of the English people. The poor denounced the great in language of virulent hatred, and the railers were stringently coerced. The criminal law was vehemently enforced—cruel as it then was upon petty thefts and superficial disorders. The murders became terrific; and the punishments of all offences savage, from something of the same temper. When the royal family walked on the terrace at Windsor, on Sundays, disturbance was caused by the number of intoxicated people who had to be turned off; and one here and there would strike a Court official, or knock off an officer's hat. At such a time, Cobbett was sure of listeners when he called the rich and noble "locusts" and "caterpillars," and the clergy "black slugs." At such a time, the temptation was strong for the flimsy and the vain, the superficial and unstable well-wishers of the people, to come forward, and offer to lead them to the acquisition of impossible things. It is cheering to observe how some men of soberer minds and wiser hearts were beginning to look into popular interests, and entering upon those researches into matters of national welfare which the existing generation is carrying on over their graves. A Burdett with his shows is sure to be swept away by the first strong wind from any quarter: but a Lancaster, a Whitbread, a Malthus, a Horner, a Romilly, is sure to hand over his deeds or his speculations to a future generation, however small may be his apparent success in his own. 1807.

Under the date of 1816 will be found a statement of the efforts made in this year by Mr. Whitbread on behalf of the Education of the people, as well as to encourage in them provident habits, by providing a secure and ready investment for the smallest savings. Amidst the darkness of the times, he saw that the one hope lay in the elevation of the mind and condition of the labouring classes: and in his views and proposed measures we find more real statesmanship than in all the Cabinet measures of successive administrations. About the same time we find Malthus according his name and services as a member of a Lancaster School Committee, and a correspondence between him and Horner, in which it is declared that Lancaster had pushed education in England so far that it could never be stopped; and that the true way to preserve the Church was to keep close to the principles of the Reformation, of which the Education of the people was the most important. While Mr. Windham was opposing Mr. Whitbread's object as vehemently as he had before opposed the abolition of the Slave trade, and while the Lords were venting their fears that the people

EDUCATION. Book iii. ch. vii.

Memoirs of Horner, ii. 19, 109, 110.

1807. would be taught error if they were taught at all, Romilly was calmly pointing out that the object was, not to give the people knowledge, but to enable them to acquire it. He seems to have been almost alone in his view that "the poor" and the "labouring classes," and "the people," as the ignorant part of the nation was loosely called, were men, in precisely the same rank in the world of the intellect with the Eldons and the Dr. Johnsons and the Windhams, who arrogated to themselves the dispensing of knowledge. Romilly claimed for the whole body of his countrymen that they should be put in possession of their own powers. After that, it was nobody's business but every man's own what knowledge he should obtain, and in what opinions his enlightened intellect should rest. This was a view far too wide for the politicians of the time; and the Eldons and Windhams even refused to vouchsafe what they considered true opinions and harmless knowledge, lest the intellect should become awakened and strengthened in the process. It should be remembered that there was a Romilly in 1807 who recorded the claim of the human intellect in full, when the legislature refused even an instalment of it. Mr. Whitbread's Bill, after passing the Commons, was thrown out in the Lords, on the motion of Lord Hawkesbury.

Memoirs, ii. 217.

Hansard, ix. 1178.

Popular Maintenance. Memoirs, i. 406.

It is deeply interesting to find in Horner's correspondence at this time a notice of "a new speculation" of Malthus, "about the importance of the people being fed dear." The notion was so new to even the most thoughtful men, in the face of all the dreadful facts for ever extant about famines among Hindoos, and rice-eaters every where, and all populations where the chief food was that which was most easily and abundantly produced, and in the failure of which there was nothing left to fall back upon, that even a Horner thought that it had "the look of a paradox." "But," he adds, however, "I have not yet detected the fallacy, if there is one." Malthus, the most unassuming and moderate of men, was quietly intimating to those who would listen the Irish famine which was to rend the heart of the nation forty years later; and pointing out that those who loved their race should encourage in all men that desire of comfort, and habit of living on superior food, which should leave open a recourse to a lower sort in case of a scarcity of the higher. The want of perspicuity and precision, and of thoroughness in following out the consequences of his doctrines, which has hindered the reception of the writings of Malthus, and caused him to be singularly misrepresented, even to this day, was then perceived and lamented by those who knew how to value him: but he was in full career of social discovery; and it is a consolation, in the retrospect of that melancholy season, to see him meditating and speaking in the spirit of benevolence and candour, and the best men of the time listening to him with searching attention and earnest respect. Another sign of the times is the

tone of wonder and concern with which an act of Emigration is spoken of, when attention is drawn to the fact by the wreck of an emigrant vessel. The emigrants were Scotch, and 150 in number; and great was the surprise and alarm that men should leave their country for America, and give up their little farms for sheep-walks, when every strong arm was wanted for the defence of our shores. That citizens should ever leave their native land is spoken of as a matter of grief:—that they should do so when from thirty to forty guineas was the common bounty paid in Scotland, and in most English counties, for substitutes for the militia—now "so hard to be found"—was declared to be beyond measure strange. There could be no stronger evidence of distress at home, and of the unpopularity of the military service. 1807. EMIGRATION. Annual Register, 1808, Chron. 8.

The Grenville Administration had left as a legacy to their successors three enterprises abroad, for which they must be reckoned responsible, and which turned out as disastrously as any previous or subsequent failures. BEQUESTS OF THE GRENVILLE MINISTRY.

It will be remembered that Sir Home Popham's troops were left entrenched on a point of the South American coast, after their expulsion from Buenos Ayres, awaiting reinforcements. There is no doubt now in any mind that they should have been brought off, with a full acknowledgment that wrong was done in Popham's attack on Buenos Ayres. The enterprise was disclaimed by government: Popham was exposed by Lord Grey in parliament, and afterwards tried by Court-martial, and reprimanded for his conduct. The clear course of principle and policy was to fetch away the remaining troops, and let the disgrace abide with the unauthorized leaders of the expedition. But Popham's Circular to the British merchants, promissory of a rich trade, had excited the spirit of greed so fatally aggravated in a season of war; and it overpowered the rectitude and prudence of the government. On the failure of the negotiation for peace, a reinforcement of 3,000 men was sent to the Rio de la Plata, under Sir Samuel Auchmuty. They found their countrymen miserable enough, half-starved and depressed, with nothing to do within their entrenchments, and unable to get out, on account of the hovering horsemen of the enemy, who harassed them incessantly. Sir Samuel Auchmuty saw that this was no place to stay in; and he determined to strike a blow for the possession of Monte Video, a fortified sea-port which would afford a sure footing in the country. It was no easy matter to remove the troops there: and next, the defences of the place were found to be much stronger than had been supposed. The British were unprovided with tools for mining and entrenching; their powder was going fast, without making any impression; and a force, fully equal to their own, was advancing to defend the town. Either they must assault the place at once, or give up the enterprise. They made the assault, aiming at an imperfect breach. They BUENOS AYRES EXPEDITION. Auchmuty Despatch. Ann. Reg., 1807, p. 653.

1807. missed it in the dark, the enemy having disguised it with stones; and the slaughter was great before there was light enough for them to find the narrow and perilous fissure. It was gallantly entered first by Captain Renny, who fell dead; and many followed him to his fate—there being room for only one to enter at a time: but the place was taken, with great loss to the enemy. Meantime, orders had been received by General Craufurd, on his way to Chili with 4,200 men, to go and recover Buenos Ayres instead; it being unhappily imagined, by both government and people at home, that our national honour required the recapture of that place. Craufurd and Auchmuty joined; and, by express command from home, placed their united forces, amounting to above 9,000 men, under the command of General Whitelocke. The expedition under his command repaired to Buenos Ayres in May 1807.

Windham's Letters. Ann. Reg. 1807, p. 216.

The government and nation bitterly rued, afterwards, this choice of the commanding officer. If they had known of the achievement of Sir S. Auchmuty, there can be little doubt that the appointment would have been his: but the capture of Monte Video was not heard of in London till after General Whitelocke's departure. But there were many officers of experience, who had commanded in India and in Egypt, who might have been sent; for General Whitelocke had never held a separate command. But the government unduly despised the enemy; and the General improved upon their contempt. Though fully aware that the Buenos Ayreans were awaiting him with two hundred pieces of cannon posted, and barricades erected in their streets, and their flat roofs lined with 15,000 armed inhabitants, vindictive in their mood, and safe from attack, he compelled his troops to march without firing a shot—even with their pieces unloaded—till they should reach the central squares. Of course, they were shot down as they passed, bayonets being useless in such circumstances, and slaughtered in heaps at the barricades; and three regiments laid down their arms. Sir S. Auchmuty did wonders, through all this discouragement—carrying the great square, and capturing cannon, ammunition, and prisoners, as many as he could dispose of: but Craufurd had been compelled to surrender with his troops. The disasters had been too great for the unhappy commander to bear. He could not see his way to further conquest, or feel sure of holding what he had gained. Most men would have tried what could be done, the place being actually won, with a noble supply of the enemy's artillery and ammunition, and with every possible incentive to retrieve the disgrace which must be wiped out now or never. But General Whitelocke was not equal to this. He accepted, the next day, the ignominious terms offered by the enemy. The General of the Spanish forces, Linieres, himself a Frenchman, proposed to restore all the prisoners, on condition of the British surrendering all their conquests on the Rio de la Plata. It must have been

Whitelocke's Despatch. Annual Reg., 1807, p. 689.

a bitter moment to Sir S. Auchmuty when Monte Video was given up. He and General Craufurd came home in the same ship which brought General Whitelocke's despatch. The strangest part of this despatch is the conclusion, in which the General expresses his trust that this treaty will meet the approbation of his Majesty. The reason assigned by him for his submission to the enemy was, that that enemy assured him that the lives of the English prisoners were in danger from the fury of the citizens of Buenos Ayres. Neither the King nor any one else had any approbation to give. The public indignation ran high; and it was immediately clear that General Whitelocke was a ruined man. He was tried by court-martial, and sentenced to be cashiered and dismissed from his Majesty's service. Some imputations derogatory to his honour as a soldier—imputations, in short, of cowardice—had been cast upon him after his service in St. Domingo, some years before. His last appointment was believed, at the time, to have been a piece of self-will of the King's; and men were angry that an officer whose sword ought, as they thought, to have been broken over his head in St. Domingo, should be chosen for such an enterprise. When his failure became known, he had no chance of mercy. He had unfortunately remained in safety, outside the town, with a small body which he called the reserve, when he sent his troops to take Buenos Ayres, with their pieces unloaded. This gave him the name which he could never shake off, General Whitefeather. The people were ready to tear him in pieces. His trial was long delayed, and then much protracted, by royal favour; and when, at last, he was declared, by the sentence of the court-martial, "totally unfit and unworthy to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatever," the multitude complained that he had escaped too easily. Such was the end of one of the "diversions" of those days; begun in gratuitous rashness, carried on in cupidity and inconsistency, and ending (notwithstanding Sir S. Auchmuty's exploits) in utter failure and disgrace. 1807. Annual Reg., 1807, p. 223.

While the floods of the Plata were rolling past the scene of our humiliation in the West, the eastern waters of the Golden Horn were no less distinctly reflecting our shame. Turkey was, during this period of European warfare, canvassed, or wooed, or threatened, or cajoled, by the opposing Powers, and was always obliged to appear for the moment to side with the strongest. We now see the Frenchman, Sebastiani, whispering into the ear of the helpless Sultan Selim accounts of the irresistible power of Napoleon; and then, the Russian ambassador, in high irritation, going on board an English ship, and thence threatening Selim with all the hosts of Alexander: and next, Mr. Wellesley Pole forcing himself into Selim's presence, in his riding-dress, and whip in hand, and declaring that if the demands of Russia were not immediately complied with, a British fleet should enter the Dardanelles, and DARDANELLES EXPEDITION.

1807. lay Constantinople in ashes; and again, Selim whispering to Sebastiani that he should like to be Napoleon's friend, but is afraid of Russia and England.

Before the end of 1806, Russia had driven Selim into the arms of France; and war was declared at the Porte just after Napoleon's victories in Prussia had filled Alexander with alarm. His troops had overrun some Turkish territory before war was declared; but just at this juncture, he wanted all his forces for the defence of his own frontier. He dreaded the effects of withdrawing them from the Turkish provinces, which would immediately fight for France; but he must do it. He besought the British to undertake another of those "diversions" which began to sound so disagreeably to the ears of Englishmen; to send a fleet of theirs, which was cruising in the Egean Sea, up to Constantinople, and to compel Selim to relinquish his alliance with France, and make terms with Russia and England. The Grenville Cabinet were rather glad of an opportunity of obliging Alexander, to whom they had refused both money and land troops, and whose friendship it was important to retain: and they gave orders to Sir John Duckworth, then cruising off Ferrol, to join Admiral Louis at the mouth of the Dardanelles. Mr. Arbuthnot, the British ambassador at the Porte, offered the final terms of the two Courts to Selim, as soon as he heard of the junction of the two squadrons off Tenedos; that is, on the 26th of January, 1807. They were declined; and from certain threats about making hostages, Mr. Arbuthnot feared for his own safety, and for that of all the English in the place. He arranged with the captain of the frigate Endymion, which lay at hand, to invite all the English merchants and the whole legation to dinner on board his ship, on the 29th of January. They went, wholly unaware that they were not to land again. When, sitting in their dinner dress, they were told that their wives, children, and merchandize, must be left to the mercy of the Turks and the generosity of Sebastiani, they had little appetite left for the dinner which was set before them. No communication with the shore was, however, allowed; and by eight in the evening, when it was very dark, the Endymion was under weigh. The Turks did not find it out, nor molest her passage down the Dardanelles; and she arrived in safety at the rendezvous off Tenedos. The strong and rapid current makes the passage of the narrow and intricate channel comparatively easy, that way: the difficulty is in passing the other way, up to Constantinople. A strong south or south-west wind is necessary for this; and the fleet had to wait for such a wind till the 19th of February. A terrible fire had destroyed the Ajax, of 74 guns, in the interval, with the loss of 250 lives. Seven line-of-battle ships remained, and followed each other, at intervals, into the mouth of the strait. Neither the efforts of Sebastiani, nor the explosion of the Ajax, nor any other warning

that the English were coming, had roused the Turks to make the slightest preparation. The ships sailed proudly up the strait, undelayed by the fire of the forts at the narrowest part of the channel, and belching out flames and cannon-balls as they went. They took and burned some Turkish ships, and appeared before Constantinople, to the horror of the whole population, who were absolutely without means of defence. The Divan would have yielded at once; but Sebastiani prevented it, and instigated a negotiation which proved a fatal snare to Sir John Duckworth, notwithstanding express warnings and instructions, strong and clear, from Lord Collingwood. He was unwilling to destroy the city, and shoot down the defenceless inhabitants; and he allowed himself to be drawn on, from day to day, exchanging notes and receiving promises, instead of fulfilling the threats under which he demanded an immediate arrangement. Meantime, not a moment was lost by Sebastiani and the Turks, whom he was instructing in Napoleon's methods of warfare. Women and children, Christians and Mohammedans, worked day and night at the defences; and in a few days, the whole coast was bristling with artillery, and the chance was over. The British officers had seen through their glasses the placing of the cannon, and the arrival of the ammunition, and the lining of the coast with spirited troops, and the lodgment of garrisons in the towers; and they chafed under the intolerable disgrace of their inaction. But Sir John Duckworth was busy negotiating for the whole of that fatal week, at the end of which there was nothing to be done but to get away as safely as they yet might. The wind had not changed, and it did not change till the 1st of March; and the further delay thus caused gave time for charging the forts at the Dardanelles with ammunition and men. For thirty miles (reckoning the windings of the channel) the ships ran the gauntlet of an incessant fire—and such a fire as was never seen before. Stone balls, weighing 700 or 800 lbs, broke down the masts, crushed in the decks, snapped the rigging, and amazed the hearts of the sailors. The hills smoked from end to end, and the roar of the artillery rolled from side to side. In another week, Sir J. Duckworth declared in his despatch, any return would have been impossible. The news of this singular affair spread fast over Europe. Every body thought the expedition gallantly conceived, and miserably weak in its failure; while the conduct of the Turks was miserably weak till they were properly led, and abundantly gallant afterwards.—Napoleon sent aid to the Porte—experienced officers, and promises of men, money, and ammunition, if required; but there was no more forcing of the passage of the Dardanelles. The British and Russians blockaded the entrances of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and so nearly starved Constantinople as to compel the Porte to try its skill in naval warfare, for the sake of obtaining supplies. The Turkish

1807.

Alison's History of Europe, vi. 169

Ann. Reg., 1807, p. 661.

1807. ships engaged the Russians, and were worsted. The relief of the Porte came at last through the peace which Alexander made with Napoleon in the next autumn. The British did nothing more than maintain the blockade, and bear the shame of their absurd failure as well as they could. A good deal of surprise was felt that Sir J. Duckworth did not ask for a court-martial, especially after the things that were said of him in parliament by Windham, Canning, and many others. But he did not; and the extraordinary pressure of other interests and incidents of the war occasioned his misadventure to be passed over more rapidly, if not more easily, than he had any right to expect. Beyond censures from all sides in parliament, and in the records of the time, he met with no retribution.—So ended the second of the "diversions" proposed under the Grenville Ministry.

The third legacy of this kind that they left was a diversion on the side of Egypt.

Egyptian Expedition.

For some time, a notion had been gaining ground, in the minds of English politicians, that the Sultan would, some day soon, be giving Egypt to Napoleon, in return for the aid afforded to Constantinople, on the Danube, and elsewhere. Egypt was in an unhappy state. Mohammed Alee, the Viceroy, was at feud with the Memlooks; and the Arab inhabitants were made a prey of by both. The Grenville Ministry thought that a diversion in that direction would be of great service to Russia, and great injury to Napoleon; and they confidently reckoned on being enthusiastically received by the Arab inhabitants, and probably by the Memlooks also. In laying their plans, however, they strangely underrated the forces and the ability of Mohammed Alee; and they sent only between 4,000 and 5,000 men to the mouth of the Nile, instead of an army large enough to cope with the able and warlike Pasha of Egypt, and his Albanian troops. The small British force was drafted from the troops in Sicily. It landed without opposition on the 17th of March, supposing that Sir John Duckworth must by this time have conquered the Sultan, and that his province of Egypt would come very easily into our hands. No opposition was made to the landing of the troops, and Alexandria capitulated immediately. Only seven lives were lost on the British side. Within the city, however, no provisions were found; and just when the soldiers were inquiring how they were to be fed, Sir J. Duckworth arrived from the station at Tenedos, and told of the failure of his enterprise. Something must be done. No food remained on board the transports: and the Pasha's Albanians cut off all supplies from the Delta. The citizens of Alexandria bethought themselves of employing the invaders to get food for them, as well as for themselves, and instructed them that they must go along the coast, and bring what they could find in the cities there. General Fraser, the Commander, detached 1,200

Despatches, Ann. Reg., 1807, pp. 665, 670, 673.

men from his small force, and sent them on this errand under General Wauchope. General Wauchope did not understand eastern cities, and Albanian methods of warfare. He forgot that the streets are the narrowest of alleys, and the houses, with their latticed windows and flat roofs, favourable for ambush. He marched straight to Rosetta and into the middle of it, being unaccountably confident that Rosetta would receive the British as Alexandria had done. But the Albanians were there before him; and they had left one of the city gates wide open, for the march of the troops into their trap. Four hundred of them were shot down in the streets; and among them, General Wauchope himself. He was happier than Whitelocke and Duckworth in not surviving the disaster which he had provoked. The remaining 800 men were extricated and marched back to Alexandria, without having effected any thing. As soon as Sir J. Duckworth heard the news, he gave up his command to Rear-Admiral Louis (who presently died), and sailed away for England.—It presently appeared that there were stores of food in Alexandria, if they could be got at; and that supplies were perpetually coming in from the river: but General Fraser seems to have relied strangely on the representations of the governor, and to have followed his advice with an unaccountable confidence. Under his guidance, he turned again towards Rosetta, though the Pasha was using every hour in collecting his forces at Cairo. 2,500 men were sent to lay siege to Rosetta in regular form; and there they waited for aid from the Memlooks, which never came. The Pasha's forces arrived in a flotilla of boats: one detachment of British was cut off, and among the scattered remainder there was great slaughter. The survivors fought their way back again to Alexandria, where they reported a loss of from 1,000 to 1,200 men. Why the new administration did not send succours from Malta and Messina has often been asked; and it has been said, to their deep discredit if true, that they could do nothing in aid of an expedition which they disapproved. However this might be, General Fraser was discouraged from home, and hourly harassed by the enemy.—At the requisition of the Pasha, the people of Alexandria cut off his supplies, and cut down his outposts. More and more of the enemy came up as his little force dwindled away; and at last, on the appearance of a column which he was unable to encounter, he sent out a flag of truce, with an offer to evacuate Egypt on the restoration of the prisoners taken since the invasion. This was in August, 1807; and in September the last English soldier left the mouth of the Nile.—By this time, the Sultan had declared war against England, and had caused a seizure of all the British property in his dominions. —There was truly little to boast of in the achievements of British arms at the moment of the accession of the Portland Administration. It was for them to show whether they could retrieve the national

1807.

Ann. Reg., 1807, p. 205.

1807. credit, and check the now terrific progress of Napoleon. As soon as Canning's mind began to be busy about his function, he consulted with the veteran diplomatist, Lord Malmesbury; and the advice he received was to grant subsidies rather than loans; to offer a large subsidy to Austria, payable when she should have actually declared war against Napoleon; and to make every body abroad clearly understand that it was not the intention of the King of England to withdraw himself from the Continent while Napoleon continued to ravage it. As for the method of conducting the war, "diversions" were still the prominent idea: but Lord Malmesbury recommended that they should be near home; nearer even than Germany. It is with some interest that we find him, so early as March, 1807, mentioning the Isle of Walcheren as a good object of attainment; that Walcheren whose name was to become a word of loathing and shame before three years were over.

Diaries, iv. 388, 395, 396.

Napoleon and Prussia.

In the preceding autumn, Napoleon was, as we have seen, at Berlin. There he sat triumphant, sending to Paris the Prussian standards, and the arms and other memorials of Frederick the Great, which it wrung the hearts of the Prussians to part with. Among the most wretched of them was their Queen, who had stimulated her husband to the war, and had appeared on the battle-field, encouraging the soldiers. Of Napoleon's many antipathies, one of the strongest was to women of energy and intelligence. He did not so much despise as hate such women; and his insulting mention of the Queen of Prussia, on several occasions, drew upon him a rebuke and remonstrance from his own wife. His reply was as low as were his feelings in regard to women; and he went on to treat the Queen of Prussia with insult or cajolery, as suited his mood or his convenience. As he had no chivalrous feelings, it was perhaps as well that he did not affect any.—It was from Berlin that he issued his celebrated decree against the English, by which he declared the British islands in a state of blockade; excommunicated the English, in all relations whatever; declared the persons of all English men and women captive, and their property confiscated, wherever either could be found; and threatened punishment to all persons, every where, who held any sort of intercourse with any of the British nation. This was the great Berlin Decree which was proclaimed in Paris, and in all the ports of the northern seas that were under French influence, and which caused the arrest of all the British, resident or visiting at those ports, the seizure of all their property, and the cancelling of all debts due to them.—It was from Berlin that he sent proposals of peace to the King of Prussia. The terms were so very hard that the poor King hesitated, and was disposed to try once more what he could do with the aid of Russia. Napoleon at once set about humbling the Russians, in order to the complete subjugation of Prussia. Late as it was in the year, he set

Letters to Josephine, i. 165.

His Berlin Decree.

forth eastwards, and entered Warsaw (where he was favourably received) on the 19th of December, his army having preceded him by three weeks. His soldiers expected to winter on the Vistula, and spread along its eastern bank, from Warsaw to the sea, to repose themselves: but the Russians were not disposed to allow this. Their General, Benningsen, attacked the French General, Bernadotte, who forthwith attempted to draw the Russians into a position in which they could be attacked by Napoleon while engaged with him. But Benningsen understood his business too well. He retreated towards the north-east, followed step by step by the French, whose forces had been recruited by prodigious efforts. Conscripts, hardly trained for the field, were brought from Italy, and other remote dominions of France. British merchandise in Hamburg was released on the payment of 700,000*l.*; and similar levies were made upon the other ports and large cities in the rear. Corn, wood, clothing (from Hamburg 50,000 great coats without delay) were required, in addition to the money; and the whole Continent behind and on either hand groaned under the exactions of Napoleon. The conflict which must result from such preparations was watched for by all the nations; though our George III. was at the moment too much engrossed by the dread of equalizing his own Catholic and Protestant soldiers to have much attention left for other things. It was in the midst of his consternation about the Grenville and Grey Catholic Relief Bill that the great battle of Eylau was fought.

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WINTER CAMPAIGN

Alison's History of Europe, vi. 23, 24.

Eylau is a village, twenty or more miles south of Königsberg, in Eastern Prussia. There the Russians and Prussians drew together all the forces that the season and the French had left them; and the French mustered for a critical battle. The French had about 10,000 more men than the enemy; and about 120 less cannon. After some bloody skirmishing, by the light of burning houses, on the 7th of February, the two armies lay down amidst the sheeted snow, lighted by the same watchfires; for they were crowded within an extremely small space. Few could sleep: but Napoleon did. He was harassed with fatigue; and he slept through the night in a house at Eylau. His position appeared perilous; but it was much more so the next day. There was a strong east wind, and a blinding snow; and as he stood by the churchyard, on a little eminence, the Russians came up, and almost trod him down before he perceived how near they were. They were not fully aware what was within their grasp; and, delayed for a moment, if not daunted, by the bold face of his guard, and presently attacked on either hand, they let their prize escape. The fate of Europe hung on that moment, and Napoleon's usual fortune prevailed. The check he then received was, however, considerable. The battle during the whole day was a series of extraordinary vicissitudes. Each party reasonably believed itself victorious half a dozen times. It was the bloodiest and most desperately contested battle which

BATTLE OF EYLAU. *Feb.* 8.

Las Cases, ii. 151.

1807. had been fought since the rise of Napoleon. Even he, with his boasting habit of speech, hardly claimed the victory; and the funds fell at Paris, on the receipt of his bulletin. This was not perhaps so much on account of the issue of this particular battle as because the French people now discovered that the Russians were a formidable enemy, and that the result of the campaign was not so assured beforehand as they had supposed. Each force retired; the Russians towards Königsberg, and the French towards the Vistula.

This was the last success of the Russians for the present. While both armies were receiving reinforcement, Napoleon sent Lefebvre to take Dantzig. The place held out eight weeks, and then capitulated, on the 26th of May, 1807. He had so far admitted the importance of the check at Eylau as to propose peace immediately afterwards, in a very different tone from that which he had before used towards the unhappy King of Prussia. The temptation to come to terms must have been strong; but the King resisted it, at the desire of the Russians. All Europe presently knew this, and praised the King of Prussia, and looked for the issue of a great army from Austria, and for important aid of men and money from England. On the whole, the destruction of Napoleon seems to have been really more probable at this moment than at any previous point of his career—more probable, certainly, than his extrication. But the hopes of so many nations were soon extinguished. It was the universal belief that 50,000 men, sent from England to the mouth of the Elbe, would now have ended the war. Napoleon was ordering the third conscription within seven months, and the heart of France was sinking within her; while Austria would with alacrity have brought up her forces from Bohemia, to invest the Elbe, in Napoleon's rear. But Lord Howick's reply to the request of the friendly Powers was (on the 10th of March), "Doubtless the spring is the most favourable period for military operations: but at the present juncture the allies must not look for any considerable land force from Great Britain." A subsidy of 500,000*l.* was granted; but no troops went forth before July; and then they were only 8,000; and they were sent where they could do little good. The early summer showed how disastrous were the consequences of thus letting that critical spring pass away unused.

Apathy of England.

Alison's History, vi. p. 94.

Ann. Reg., 1807, p. 23.

Napoleon took the field again in June, with recruited forces—equipped in Yorkshire cloth, whether he knew it or not; for his requisitions were so hasty that the Hamburghers were obliged to brave the penalty of death, and import English goods for the making up of the tens of thousands of garments demanded. He must conquer: he knew it, and he said it. As Metternich observed, he might win many battles without destroying his enemies, but he could not lose one without destroying himself. As Austria waited for England, and England was not stirring, every advantage was

Alison's History, vi. 98.

given to Napoleon, and he won. On the 14th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, he totally defeated the Russians at Friedland, a few miles from Eylau. It was a complete wreck of the cause of the allies. The Russians showed all the military qualities which had made them respected at Eylau; but they had to pass a river in the presence of an enemy double their own number. They did not surrender. They preferred perishing; and they were drowned and slaughtered in crowds. Deep were the curses then vented upon English parsimony and dilatoriness. After taking a high tone among the allies, she withheld aid at the moment when there could scarcely be a doubt that it would have availed to prostrate Napoleon. Russia, as we shall see, forsook her; and some words attributed to the Crown Prince of Denmark soon after showed how the alliance of England was regarded after that unfortunate spring. "You offer us your alliance," said the Prince, "but we know what it is worth. Your allies, who have been vainly expecting your succours for a whole year, have taught us what is the worth of English friendship." Thoughtful historians, and statesmen of a new generation, have recorded their belief that this failure in fidelity and energy at the close of the Grenville Administration was paid for by the whole Peninsular War—by another seven years of struggle with Napoleon, and the addition of 100,000,000*l.* to our national debt. Even the muskets promised, and for want of which a large body of the Russian troops remained unarmed, did not arrive till Alexander had made peace with the conqueror. 1807. BATTLE OF FRIEDLAND. June 14.

It was observed during these recent campaigns, that Napoleon did not follow up his victories as in his earlier days. On the present occasion, the difficulties of the ground were such, and the loss of hope and heart among the beaten troops so great, that he might have annihilated the Russian army in its retreat behind the Pregel, if he had followed it. But he did not. He let his foes flounder through swamps, and run over each other in the apprehension that he was behind them, while he sat still. The fact was, his own position was very precarious. Fifty thousand of his soldiers were in hospital, sick or wounded; his new levies were hardly trained for their work; his army would fall to pieces if he left the spot; yet he knew that he was much wanted at Paris, where the belief of his invincibility was by no means what it had been, and where the people, not having seen him for nearly a year, were becoming discouraged and angry at the slaughter of the young men of the nation, and the ever-increasing weight of the taxes. Napoleon was, in the midst of his glory, distressed on every side; and timely vigour, union and courage among the allies might soon have retrieved the recent disasters. But the weak Alexander did not second his brave generals, and his whole desire was for peace. How he made it will never be forgotten while history is read.

1807. On the 16th of June, two days after the battle of Friedland, Napoleon was in Königsberg. The Niemen formed the Russian frontier; and thither Alexander's forces were retreating, in the direction of Tilsit. On the morning of the 19th, the allied armies began to pass the bridge at Tilsit; and for forty hours the unbroken line stretched over it. When all were on the Russian side, the bridge was destroyed. Alexander did not mean that his soldiers should pass it again. He had not entered into the war on his own account so much as for the objects of Austria and England: in which, however, the peace of Europe was involved. England had failed in her engagements; Austria was timid and passive; and he did not consider himself obliged to sustain alone the burden of supporting unfortunate Prussia. If this had been all, there would have been no reasonable ground for censuring him for making peace at Tilsit. But in the process, he violated solemn engagements, recently made, and manifested a profligate selfishness and cruel treachery which appear more shocking and amazing as time rolls on.

Professions of Russia. Ann. Reg., 1807, p. 446.

It was on the preceding 1st of April that he had met his beloved brother of Prussia and the Queen at Memel, to mourn over the tyranny of Napoleon, and concert measures for withstanding it. The sovereigns sprang into each other's arms; their eyes were full of tears, and they could not speak. They walked hand in hand, and at times Alexander threw his arm over his friend's neck. The meeting with the spirited Queen was even more affecting—with kissing of hands and cheeks, tears, and sympathy. If there had been any voice to whisper how matters would be before June was out, who would have believed it?—Several weeks later, quite at the end of May, Alexander said, in his reply to that letter which Mr. Canning induced George III. to write, that "There was no salvation to himself or to Europe but by eternal resistance to Bonaparte;" yet, within four short weeks, where was he, and what was he doing?

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 398.

Conference at Tilsit. *June 25th.*

It is not agreed which of the Emperors first proposed peace. Each afterwards declared that it was the other. But circumstances seem to confirm the word of Napoleon, for once. Now, one of the articles of agreement between Russia and Prussia was that neither should make peace without the other. Thus, the mere negotiation for a separate peace was a breach of faith, to begin with. Before they met, the two Emperors, who abode on opposite sides of the Niemen, agreed upon an armistice which showed both that their objects were few and simple. Napoleon wished to ruin England, and had to ask of Russia merely to shut her ports against British ships, and excommunicate the English people. Alexander had simply to ask Napoleon to let Poland alone, and to desert Turkey. When the nature of their respective needs was ascertained, they agreed to meet, and hold a private consultation on the affairs

of Europe, which they could settle as they pleased. Alexander went to this conference, full of resentment against England, vanity at being placed, hand in hand with the great conqueror, at the summit of European destinies, and having apparently no thought or care for the insulted and despoiled brother of Prussia to whom he was so lately vowing sympathy and protection. 1807.

As if the conference was to be too shameful to be overheard, it was to take place in the middle of the river. A large raft, with a wooden house upon it, splendidly adorned, and canopied with the eagles of France and Russia, was moored in mid stream, where it glittered in the sun of June. Here the two Emperors were to be entirely alone. Another raft, at some distance, was destined for their respective suites, who might be forswearing enmity while their sovereigns were conspiring against the liberties of Europe. On the 25th, the river banks were lined with the Imperial Guard of both monarchs, in a triple row, and the thunder of the cannon waited for the meeting of the potentates. A boat under each bank received the Emperors, who stepped on board at the same moment, followed each by a few officers. They were to land on opposite sides of the raft, and enter the house by opposite doors. Napoleon's rowers landed him first; and he hastened through his own door, to open that by which Alexander was to enter. The first words were spoken by Alexander, who said, "I hate the English as much as you do, and am ready to second you in all your enterprises against them." "In that case," replied Napoleon, "every thing will be easily arranged, and peace is already made."—Every thing was easily arranged—even in two hours. ALISON'S History, vi. 587.

When the business of framing the treaty had to be done, they made a show of joining Prussia in the compact, calling in on her behalf the man who was strongly suspected of delivering up Dantzig by treachery, and who was certainly a mere man of straw on the present occasion —General Kalkreuther. Talleyrand was Napoleon's agent. When the treaty was all ready for signature, Napoleon invited to dinner the Queen of Prussia whom he had repeatedly insulted in his bulletins; and then declared himself to be so fascinated by her spirit and grace that he desired Talleyrand to get the treaty signed after dinner without her knowledge; lest he should be won over to alter its provisions in favour of Prussia. He afterwards admitted the difficulty he had in withstanding—not so much the loud cry for "Justice! justice!" with which she greeted him at first, as the ability and reasoning power with which she led and sustained conversation on the politics of Europe. Her emotion when she heard of the signature of the treaty was a mournful spectacle: and not less must it have been so to see her husband in the daily rides with the Emperors which he thought it right to submit to, but which his soldiers could ill bear to witness. The sovereigns were now all living in Tilsit. Napoleon sent Alexander the TREATY OF TILSIT. *July.* LES CASES, iv. 228.

1807. furniture of his house—even his own bed—French dinners daily—and every luxury he could think of. They were together all the morning on business, and dined together every evening. When they rode, the King of Prussia was on one hand of Napoleon, and Alexander on the other; but the Emperors were always conversing earnestly and riding fast, and the King could not keep up with them. It was not till the ceremony of dismounting had to be gone through that they remembered him; and then they waited while he rode up alone, in the sight of all the people. Alexander might have wished never to see again the ally whom he had betrayed.

Treaties of Tilsit, Ann. Reg., 1807, pp. 714, 720.

Under this treaty, Alexander accepted a portion of the dominions of that ally, in Polish Prussia; reconciling himself to it by giving it the name of a compensation for the expenses of the war. The King of Prussia was deprived of all his territory between the Rhine and the Elbe; but Silesia was restored to him, with the greater part of his German dominions on the right bank of the Elbe. Even this restitution was embittered by its being made as a mark of the Emperor's regard for his "brother" Alexander. Out of the same regard, Napoleon deserted both Poland and Turkey, without remorse. To return the obligation, Alexander promised to take in hand the sturdy Sweden which stood out vigorously against Napoleon; recognised the new kingdom of Westphalia, and Jerome Bonaparte as its king; and also the royalty of two other brothers of Napoleon, who were made Kings of Naples and Holland. The whole of the south of Europe was acknowledged to be Napoleon's, and both Emperors were to damage Great Britain, in every possible way. The King of Prussia was to reduce his troops to 40,000 men; and to pay about 6,000,000*l.* to France, submitting to the occupation of Berlin and his chief fortresses by French troops at the expense of Prussia, till the debt should be discharged. This debt was in addition to the charges for the war, which amounted to above 20,000,000*l.* The annual revenue of Prussia was only 3,000,000*l.*; so that it was clear that she could never free herself from the French garrisons which held the virtual control of the country. The proclamation in which he released from their allegiance the inhabitants of his lost provinces is one of the most affecting documents in history — full of the dignity of patient misfortune. We should like to know whether, amidst the dazzling blaze of Napoleon's favour, Alexander found eyes to read it. If he did, he could have little enjoyed his new honours that day.

Secret Articles.

Alison's History, vi. 299—301.

In giving the history of this Treaty of Tilsit, we have been narrating what deeply concerned the interests, if not the very existence, of the British nation. There were Secret Articles in this Treaty of Tilsit, in which England had a vital interest. These secret articles are not to be found in any collection of State Papers; but Napoleon's diplomatists have given a sufficient account of them

to enable us to speak of them with assurance. Napoleon would not part with Constantinople; but he not only gave up Turkey as a whole to be dealt with as Alexander pleased, but agreed to unite his efforts with Alexander to wrest from the Porte all its provinces but Roumelia, if within three months she had not made terms satisfactory to Alexander. In requital for this, if England did not before the 1st of November make terms satisfactory to Napoleon, on the requisition of Russia, the two Emperors were to require of Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal, to close their ports against the English, and were to unite their forces in war against Great Britain, by sea and land. Spain was to be compelled to remain at war with England also: and, by a yet more secret set of articles, known to the two Emperors alone, it was agreed, amidst a plan of complete spoliation of Europe, with portions of Asia and Africa, for their aggrandizement, that Spain and Portugal should become the dominions of Napoleon, under the government of princes of his family.—A striking proof of the complete prostration of Alexander's judgment at this time is that he, without objection, left to Napoleon the framing of these secret articles, after their parting. The articles were merely sketched at Tilsit—drawn out afterwards at Paris under Napoleon's dictation, transmitted rapidly to St. Petersburgh, and signed by Alexander as a matter of course. Napoleon went home (where he arrived in August) to contract the French Constitution and diminish the liberties of the people: and Alexander repaired to his capital, where he instructed his minister to deny that there were any secret articles in the Treaty of Tilsit in any way injurious to England. The rulers of England, with the animating soul of Canning in the midst of them, were meantime not idle.

1807.

Malmesbury. Diaries, iv. 407.

Ib., iv. 403.

ENGLAND AND DENMARK.

In the month of May, the Duke of Portland had had an audience of the Prince of Wales at Carlton House, at which he had heard a piece of news from the Prince, which it deeply concerned him, as Prime Minister, to know. The Prince Regent of Portugal had sent secret information that Napoleon wanted to invade our shores with the Portuguese and Danish fleets. The Portuguese had been refused. It was for us to see to the Danish. Mr. Canning lost no time in seeing to it: and while the Emperors were consulting at Tilsit, he was actively engaged in disabling Denmark from injuring us. When he had confidential information of the secret articles of the Tilsit Treaty, his proceedings were hastened, and they were made as peremptory as the occasion required. He endured great blame, for a long time, on account of this peremptoriness; and he could not justify himself, because the government were pledged to secrecy. The highest principle, the most acknowledged honour, and the best oratory of parliament and the country, were against him; the Grenvilles and Greys—the Horners and Romillys—the best part of the press and the public were against him, and spoke in the confidence of the plainest and most straightforward morality;

1807. yet there is now—and there has been, ever since the facts were revealed—an universal agreement that he was right; that he did only what was necessary; and that it was done in the best manner.

August 1. Mr. Jackson, who had been for some years our Envoy at the Court of Berlin, was sent to Kiel, to require of the Crown Prince (then at Kiel), who was known to be under intimidation by Napoleon, that the Danish navy should be delivered over to England, to be taken care of in British ports, and restored at the end of the war. The Crown Prince refused, with the indignation which was to be expected. His position was an extremely hard one; and our King showed his sense of this by the *mot* which he uttered to Mr. Jackson on his return, and which he liked to tell. He abruptly asked Mr. Jackson whether the Prince was upstairs or down when he received the British Envoy. "He was on the ground floor, please your Majesty." "I am glad of it, for your sake," replied the King; "for if he had half my spirit, he would certainly have kicked you down stairs." The King consented with extreme reluctance to our interfering with Denmark at all: but when once convinced that Denmark was under coercion, and must obey the strongest power of the two that were acting upon her, he agreed to the measures that self-defence required from his government, and supported the ministers in what they had to do.

Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 61.

Seizure of the Danish Fleet. Mr. Jackson had been escorted, when he went forth on his mission, by twenty ships of the line, forty frigates and other assistant vessels, and a fleet of transports, conveying 27,000 land troops. Admiral Gambier commanded the naval, and Lord Cathcart the military, expedition. These forces had been got ready within a month, with great ability, and under perfect secrecy; and before the final orders were given, ministers had such information of the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit as left them no hesitation whatever about seizing the Danish fleet, if it was not lent quietly. Denmark held the keys of the Baltic. Napoleon's soldiery was ready to pour into her territory at one word from him; her fleets and stores were precisely what he wanted for his attacks on England: and it was distinctly known that he was immediately about to use them. In securing the Danish fleet, we were taking it from Napoleon, in fact; and for the purpose of self-preservation. When, therefore, Mr. Jackson was indignantly dismissed by the Crown Prince, no time was to be lost in seizing the fleet.—The Prince sent a messenger with all speed to Copenhagen to command that the place should be put in the best possible state of defence. The messenger arrived on the 10th of August, in the evening; and great was the consternation in the city, for there was hardly a gun on the ramparts, and the armed troops were quite insufficient for the crisis. The Prince came from Kiel, the next day, to give his orders in person. He was attended only by his court officers, and

was therefore allowed to pass through the British fleet. Mr. Jackson followed him, to make one more effort for a peaceable agreement; and it was then that the Prince made that declaration about the value of the English alliance which has before been quoted. The next day, he retired into Jutland. Contrary winds detained the English ships for three days more; and those three days were diligently used by the Danes. One piece of preparation sounds now very strange and very dreadful. A plank, or part of one, was removed from every ship, and replaced by a piece of thin deal so painted or smeared as to look like the adjoining planks. The first heavy wave would have driven it in, and sunk the ship. The sinking of that fleet, with our sailors on board, would have been such a spectacle as the world never saw: but the device was discovered in time. — On the 15th, the forces were landed at Wedbeck, for their march upon Copenhagen, and the fleet worked up before the city. Once more, an attempt was made to avoid extremities. The commanders issued a proclamation to the Danish people, declaring the cause of their appearance, and offering to withdraw in peace, if the fleet was delivered up as a deposit, to be restored uninjured at the close of the war. If it was not so delivered, it must be taken; and Denmark must be responsible for the consequences. The Crown Prince replied by a proclamation, amounting to a declaration of war. He ordered the seizure of all British vessels and property.

1807.

Life of Lord Eldon, ii.56.

And now the affair was decided. There could be no doubt as to what the end must be—so vast a force being sent without notice, in a time of peace between the two countries, against an unprepared city. By the 1st of September, however, Stralsund was occupied by the French; and part of the British force was detached to watch them; and this proved that it would have been fatal to lose time. By the 8th of September, all was over: the Danish navy and arsenal were surrendered. One fourth of the buildings of the city were by that time destroyed; and in one street, 500 persons were killed by the bombardment. One resident, whose house was near the walls, left his military service for a moment, to remove his three daughters to a place of greater safety. All the three were killed by the bursting of a shell; and in the same night his only son fell by his side, while both were fighting on the walls. The next day, when the British were passing through the street, the old man pointed to the bodies of his children, and fell dead beside them. Many were the hearts so broken during the four days of the bombardment; and we find an Eldon as much moved as a Wilberforce at the details of the intolerable calamities inflicted while the city was like an inhabited volcano. We find Arthur Wellesley leading the negotiation, on the part of the British, for the surrender of the fleet. He had left his civil post as Chief Secretary for Ireland (to which he presently returned) to command the reserve at the siege of Copenhagen, where he was the victor in some outlying

BOMBARDMENT OF COPENHAGEN. *Sep.* 4.

1807. conflicts. He was sent for to negotiate the capitulation, and "having insisted on proceeding immediately to business," as was his wont, the terms were drawn up in the night between the 6th and 7th, and signed the next day; so that the entry of the British into Copenhagen took place on the 8th. The promptitude of spirit of Sir Arthur Wellesley and his coadjutors, Sir Home Popham and Lieut.-Gen. Murray, did not altogether suit the views of the government at home. It was believed that some dissatisfaction was felt at the agreement to evacuate Zealand as soon as the Danish fleet could be removed; and also at the omission to secure the vessels and stores remaining in the merchants' docks, in consequence of which a line of shipping was actually drawn up before Copenhagen, in view of the last of our fleet, when departing. But the terms included and secured all the avowed objects of the expedition. Efforts were made to conciliate the Danes, after all was over; but, as was very natural, in vain. Notice was even given by them that British flags of truce must not be sent within gun-shot range. For many months, the emotions of rage and horror which swelled in the hearts of all Danes continued to spread over the world. On the 28th of the next January, the flame of war caught the establishments on the banks of the Hooghly. It was the birthday of the King of Denmark: and the residents at the Danish factory in Bengal had invited the English, as usual, to a festival in honour of the day. At six in the morning, the aged chief agent, speechless with horror, showed a countryman the British flag flying from their own staff. Every Danish ship was seized, and the British, who were to have been guests, were masters of the Factory. The youngest Danes present have felt that day to be the most intolerable of their lives.

Wellington Despatches, iv. 5.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 496.

Confiscation of the Danish Shipping.

Almost as soon as the news of the achievement reached England, the victors brought the Danish fleet into Portsmouth harbour. One of the most painful features of the case is the confiscation which ensued, because the surrender was not made quietly. At the moment of the attack, there were Danish merchantmen in our waters, with cargoes worth 2,000,000*l*. These we took possession of; and, of course, of the navy which we had carried off. Lord Sidmouth and others moved in parliament for such custody of the ships being ordered as should enable us to restore them in good condition at the end of the war: but the answer was that, those terms having been refused, the ships were ours on the ground preferred by the Danes themselves. This was true; but it was one of those truths by which Napoleon's crimes put all honourable and humane minds to the torture. It is with a painful sense of something like constructive hypocrisy that we read now of the efforts which the kind-hearted men of the time made to get rid of the moral pains of the occasion. Wilberforce rejoices in Admiral Gambier's ascription of the glory and our own safety to Provi-

Hansard, x. 645.

Life, iii. 346—348.

dence; is consoled at the hope that the chief injury to Copenhagen was done, not by bombs, but by rockets, which set the houses on fire without killing the inhabitants; (Congreve was there, making trial of his new invention:) and labours at a subscription for the relief of the Danes of the capital; and strives to persuade his friends that they should raise, out of their private means, the amount of the soldiers' and sailors' prize money, that the Danish ships might be eventually restored. It would not do. The affair could not be deprived of its character of a desperate and exasperating calamity, for which Napoleon was answerable. 1807.

With the next session began Mr. Canning's trial of temper and courage about this business. He bore it well. The occasion was great, and he trusted that time would justify him. It was well, perhaps, that he did not know how long the time would be. The Royal Speech declared that government was apprised of an intention to assail us with the fleets of Denmark and Portugal. The Opposition did not believe it. Mr. Canning declared that the plan was arranged in accordance with secret articles in the Treaty of Tilsit. The Opposition did not believe it, and pressed for proof. He had none to produce; nor could he declare his authority. His bare word was opposed to the denials of France and Russia. When he read extracts from official papers, instead of giving the whole, resolutions of grave censure were moved against him by Mr. Adam; and Mr. Canning withdrew from the House during the vote upon them. Only 66 voted with Mr. Adam, and 168 against his resolutions. But not the less did Mr. Canning's bare word stand against the denials of the Tilsit conspirators. He declared his intention of keeping his secret through any censures that the speeches in parliament might excite against the Ministry in the country; and when he said this, he knew that many honest and sensible men believed that the Ministers had acted in a panic, and that there were no secret articles whatever appended to the Treaty of Tilsit. When many of the leading men of that time were dead, and when Canning himself had but a year or two more to number, his justification arose from an unexpected quarter. The 'Memoirs of Fouché' were published in Paris in 1824; and they contained a passage which Canning must have read with a singular mixture of feelings. "About that time it was," says Fouché, or the scribe instructed by him, "that we learned the success of the attack upon Copenhagen by the English, which was the first derangement of the secret stipulations of Tilsit, by virtue of which the Danish fleet was to be placed at the disposal of France. Since the death of Paul I., I never saw Napoleon give himself up to such violent transports of passion. That which astounded him most in that vigorous enterprise was the promptitude with which the English Ministry took their resolution." He was disposed to suspect Talleyrand of treachery. But there had not been time for Talley-

Hansard, x. 2.

Ib., 904.

Life of Canning, p. 237.

1807. rand to give the information; and Napoleon had now to learn that the British Cabinet had ceased to be destitute of all sagacity and vigour about foreign affairs.—The publication of this passage settled the matter of the accuracy of the information on which Ministers proceeded; and the speculation that remained among the elderly men whose minds were carried back to 1807 was how Canning came to know the facts. After nearly another score of years, the publication of the Malmesbury Diaries informed the world that it was the Prince Regent of Portugal who gave the warning to the Prince of Wales.—Lest we should treat the Portuguese navy as we had treated the Danish, Napoleon detained it in the ports of France.

Russian Declaration of War. *October* 31*st.* Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 401.

The amazement of Alexander, when the news reached him, was scarcely less than that of his new ally. He ordered his Minister to demand in strong terms of the British Ambassador what it meant. The Ambassador, Lord G. Leveson, had received no instructions upon the case; but he said, on the spur of the moment, the best thing he could have said—the truth, in the shortest phrase. His reply was "self-preservation." Alexander was uneasy in mind. His people were discontented with his transactions at Tilsit: the English fleet was riding in the Baltic, and might at any moment attack his Finnish possessions; and England had just proved that she was not so apathetic as she had compelled him to think her. His Minister, Budberg, became suddenly kind to the English Ambassador, and confiding, after having shown great haughtiness and reserve. He whispered his private opinion that the Peace of Tilsit could not last: that it was agreed upon to gain breathing time; and that very soon, Russia, Austria, and England, must be again in alliance. The Russian people were, in fact, as well-disposed towards us at that time as ever; and it was this consideration which at once made Alexander court our Minister, and inclined our Ambassador not to use the power, by this time confided to him from home, of summoning a large amount of naval force to invade the ports of Russia. It was very well that Lord G. Leveson declined instigating a violence which could have done no real good: but, as soon as the British fleet had left the Baltic, the Emperor and his Minister grew cold; and in October, Russia declared war against England, in a manner so little calm and reasonable as to compel the conclusion that Alexander was under the orders of Napoleon, and dared not disobey. The ground assigned was the rejection by England of Alexander's mediation with Napoleon: but none could have known better than Alexander that such mediation was out of the question till he should choose to afford to the English government as full a knowledge of all the provisions of the Treaty of Tilsit as was possessed by the other party to the quarrel which he was to settle. This he incessantly refused. His Minister, as we have seen, spoke

slightingly of the Treaty; but this did not divert the British government from its demands; and the importance of the Treaty to Alexander was proved by the necessity it laid him under of declaring war against Great Britain by proclamation on the 31st of October ensuing. 1807. Annual Reg. 1807, p. 761.

The only potentate now standing out against the conqueror was the brave, high-minded, but eccentric and rash King of Sweden. In the spring of this year, he was holding in blockade the principal ports of the Baltic, though an armistice had been agreed upon between himself (now commanding his troops in Pomerania) and the French Marshal Brune. They met, on the 4th of June, to confer on what was the real duration of the armistice; and the young King embarrassed the Marshal extremely by appealing to his intellect, his conscience, and his heart, on behalf of the Bourbons—Louis XVIII. and some of his family being at that time the guests of Sweden. This strange conference presently found its way, under royal sanction, into the newspapers, to the great discomfort, no doubt, of Marshal Brune. The King held Stralsund, and was still fortifying the island of Rügen, where 8,000 British troops were sent to his aid, while our Copenhagen expedition was preparing and setting forth; but, before the English had accomplished the enterprise, he was obliged to relinquish Stralsund. He destroyed all the cannon and magazines, however, and stole out without noise, leaving an unprofitable conquest to Marshal Brune. Yet, as has been mentioned, it was necessary for the British to detach a portion of their force to watch the French in that direction. The rest of the story of Sweden, in that struggle, is soon told.—In the beginning of the next year, the Swedes might have made peace with both France and Russia; but the King and his people were alike resolved not to agree to such a pacification as would make them accomplices in the subjugation of Europe; they declared for war, and endured bravely many of its worst inflictions. Russia plotted for the deposition of the King, suspecting that it was his chivalrous spirit that sustained that of the nation: but his people were faithful to him, except in the instance of the surrender of one fortress and flotilla by treachery. Russia was too powerful, however; and in November, 1808, Finland was virtually given up to Alexander; and Sweden was thus deprived of her great granary, and destined to ruin. England had of late aided her vigorously, driving the Russian navy into port, and blockading them there; and sending Sir John Moore, with 10,000 men, in May, when France, Russia, and Denmark, were all advancing to crush the gallant Swedes. Sir John Moore found the King in what he thought a very wild state of mind, proposing conquests, when he had not forces enough for defensive operations. All agreement in their views was found to be impossible: the King resented the Englishman's caution; Sir John Moore thought the

KING OF SWEDEN.

Annual Reg., 1807, p. 727.

1807. King so nearly mad that he made off in disguise from Stockholm, and brought back his troops, which had never been landed. The unhappy Bourbons now found themselves unsafe in Sweden: and in August, Louis XVIII., with the Queen and the Duchess d'Angoulême, landed in England—the last station of their wanderings, before their restoration to France. From that time, they lived quietly at Hartwell. There was now no other country in Europe which could afford them a secure asylum from their foe.

After the relinquishment of Finland, the Swedish people found they could endure no more. Besides Finland, they had lost Pomerania: they were reduced to want; they were thinned by pestilence as well as by war; but the King's ruling idea was to continue the conflict to the last. Notwithstanding the armistice, he intended to renew the struggle at the first possible moment.

His Deposition. As the only way to preserve their existence, his subjects gently deposed him, and put the administration of affairs into the hands of his aged uncle, the Duke of Sudermania. The poor King was arrested on the 13th of March 1809, as he was setting out for his country seat. He drew his sword, but was immediately restrained, and placed in imprisonment, for a short time. His uncle, at first called Regent, was soon made King. He declared his intention of remaining faithful to Sweden's excellent ally, Great Britain; and for a time, he sustained the assaults of

Swedish Alliance lost. Russia. But it could not be for long. Peace was made with Russia in September, 1809, and with France in the following January. Pomerania was restored to Sweden, but not Finland; and she had to make great sacrifices. Perhaps the most painful was her good understanding with Great Britain. She was compelled to bear her part in the Continental System of Napoleon, and to shut her ports against all communication with England. Thus were we deprived of the last of our allies in the north of Europe; and we found ourselves standing out alone against the whole power of the Continent.

France and Portugal. After the peace of Tilsit, Napoleon turned himself to the southern ally of Great Britain, to injure and humble the English in that direction. He detained the Portuguese ships which were in his power, in order to prevent (as has been said) their being seized like the Danish navy: and he required of the Prince Regent of Portugal three things which the Prince was in no condition to refuse; —that he should shut his ports against the English; that he should detain all Englishmen residing in Portugal; and that he should confiscate all the English property in Portugal. He must do this immediately, under penalty of invasion. The Prince agreed to the first, but remonstrated about the two others, as contrary to all principles of law, and all obligations of treaties. He knew that remonstrance was of no avail; but he gained time by it. He prepared for removal to Brazil, and gave notice to the English to sell

their property and depart. It was not till he believed that they had done this pretty completely, and exported their property, in one form or another, that he shut his ports. In answer to the Emperor's insolent prohibition to him to go to Brazil, he said that would depend on the conduct of France towards Portugal. On the first movement towards the invasion of their country, the royal family would sail for Brazil. 1807.

There was no surprise to England in these proceedings. Mr. Fox's negotiators had discovered at Paris in July 1806, that Napoleon intended to take Portugal from the Braganza family, and divide and bestow it for his own convenience: and for some time past an army under Junot had been gathering at the foot of the Pyrenees, the destination of which was understood to be Portugal. The spirits of the Portuguese had long been sustained only by British encouragement, and the presence of English ships in the Tagus. It was well known, at the same time, that Napoleon was promising to give away this and that portion of the Spanish territories, without the ceremony of asking leave of his ally, the King of Spain; and the subjugation of the whole Peninsula was certainly expected, after the summer of 1806. The Prussian business delayed proceedings: but now that it was settled, it was clear that the Peninsular scheme was to be resumed. By the end of August, when the English were engaged before Copenhagen, Junot's army under the Pyrenees amounted to 25,000 foot, and 3,000 horse. On the 17th of October, Junot received his orders from the Emperor; and on the 19th his forces crossed the Bidassoa, thus giving notice that the war against the Peninsula was begun.

Lord Yarmouth's Despatch, July 19th, 1806.

OPENING OF THE PENINSULAR WAR.

There were two parties at the Court of Spain at this time, the position of which it is necessary to glance at, in order to understand the nature of the struggle between Great Britain and Napoleon in the Peninsula during the course of years now to be entered upon. The King of Spain, Charles IV., was indolent, bookish, and fond of the pursuits of private life; and therefore very glad to let his queen manage state affairs. She was a spirited, but an abandoned woman; the mistress of a man whom she had raised from a low station. This man, Godoy, now held the high rank of Prince of the Peace, and found every thing that he desired so easy to obtain that his desires had by this time extended to the crown itself. He had arrived at wishing to be the founder of a new dynasty. This man, and the King and Queen with their creatures, were one party. The other was, as usual, that of the Heir Apparent. The Prince of Asturias—since the well-known Ferdinand the VII.—was now twenty-four years of age, and a widower, after a marriage of four years' duration with a princess of the Neapolitan family. The Prince was surrounded by the agents of Godoy; but he had two adherents who were hostile to Godoy. The one was the Count Alvarez, too virtuous to stand his ground in such a Court; and a

COURT OF SPAIN.

Alison's History, vi. p. 514.

1807. priest, the Canon Escoiquiz, who had obtained a complete ascendancy over the Prince, and managed all his affairs. The deceased Princess had hated, and effectually counteracted, Godoy. Now that she was gone, Godoy's aim was to get rid of the Prince's advisers, and marry him to the sister of his own wife, a niece of the King. The Prince had just escaped from this scheme, and resumed confidential intercourse with his favourite priest, when Napoleon stepped in to manage these family affairs, in 1807. He contrived that, by October, Ferdinand should write to him an earnest permission to be allowed to marry a princess of the family of Bonaparte. Already, however, by the time it arrived, Napoleon's views had become extended. He was negotiating with an agent of Godoy's party, about measures which he thought would enable him to take Spain altogether from the Bourbons, and give it to a subservient member of his own family; and he therefore sent no answer whatever to Ferdinand's letter. According to the new negotiation, Portugal was to be divided; and the southern part was to be given, as a Principality, to Godoy. The northern part was to be delivered over to the King of Etruria, in exchange for Tuscany, which Napoleon himself was to appropriate. The Emperor bound himself to preserve Spain to Charles; but it is clearly known that he at the moment intended to dethrone Charles. Long before this, promises had ceased to cost him any thing. The contracting parties were to lose no time in carrying out their scheme. Junot's army was immediately to march across Spain, at the expense of Spain, and invade Portugal; and Spanish forces were at the same time to invade the Portuguese provinces at different points. Another French force of 40,000 men was to assemble at Bayonne, to be ready in case of England affording aid to Portugal; but this force was not to enter Spain, on any account, without the consent of both Charles and Napoleon. Notice was given to Alexander of this agreement, and of its immediate object—the making Napoleon master of Lisbon and the Portuguese shipping that remained there; and, according to orders, Alexander sent round his squadron from the Dardanelles to the mouth of the Tagus. It is noticeable that this arrangement was made some time before Alexander's declaration of war against England.

Napoleon's Aims and Intrigues.

Invasion of Portugal.

Junot's orders were to march rapidly, proclaiming everywhere that he came in friendship and affection, with the sole purpose of defending Portugal from the aggressions of England: but he was, under any circumstances whatever, to make himself master of Lisbon and of the fleet by the 30th of November. The circumstances were mournful enough. In order to fulfil the Emperor's commands, Junot pressed forward his forces till they were disorganized by suffering. Such was the badness of the roads, the force of the streams, the scarcity of food, the hardships of every sort, that the army was routed, as if by an enemy that could cope

with its own Napoleon. The pillage of the inhabitants was a matter of necessity. If there had but been some one to lead an opposition to the invaders, they could not have reached Lisbon in time — nor at all. They struggled into Lisbon in small parties, feeble and in wretched plight, by the end of November. By that time, the English Ambassador had taken down the national arms from his gate; and gone on board Sir Sidney Smith's fleet in the Tagus. The inhabitants wept his departure; but it was rendered necessary by the hostile acts of the government, under the requisition of Napoleon. These acts were known to be enforced; and they were not therefore to be resented; but they compelled the departure of Lord Strangford and his embassy from the city. When, however, Napoleon's newspaper at Paris announced, under the date of the 13th of November, "The House of Braganza has ceased to reign," Lord Strangford landed, offered the friendship of England again to the reigning family, and notified that Sir Sidney Smith was bringing up his ships, to receive them, if they would seek safety in their distant dominions till better days should dawn. News arrived just then that Spanish troops were entering Portugal at different points; and Lord Strangford knew why; for he had sent home a copy of the secret treaty in virtue of which these things were done. The Court made its final decision for going to Brazil. In one day, the British sailors, delighted at the determination, got ready vessels enough to convey the whole crowd of adherents to royalty that were pressing for a passage.

1807.

Annual Reg., 1807, p. 280.

DEPARTURE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY FOR BRAZIL, *November* 29, 1807. Alison's History, vi. 530.

It was a mournful sight, that departure. The archives of the kingdom, and the treasure and plate of the royal family, went first: and then came the long train of carriages which conveyed the fifteen royal personages and their attendants. The Queen was insane, and had been secluded for sixteen years. She was on this day calm, and quite aware of what was done, and courageous in the doing. The rest were pale and weeping, but resolute. They did not expect ever to return; and the crowd, even more sympathizing than alarmed, did not expect that they would. The first token of good cheer was the salute fired by the British vessels, as the royal fleet passed among them. That sound reminded the forlorn Portuguese that they were not friendless. But the people on shore were superstitious; and at this hour, and when their minds were full of the cruel words, "The House of Braganza has ceased to reign," an eclipse of the sun made itself felt. In deep dejection the people returned home, when the last sail had disappeared; and the first object they saw was the head of Junot's first column, come to take possession of the heights of Belem. Junot saw those last sails; and so strong was his passion, at having missed capturing the royal family, that he, with his own hand, fired a cannon-shot at a merchant vessel which had been detained, and was setting sail after the fleet.

1807. In a few hours more, cannon were posted in the streets of Lisbon: the people were laid under ruinous contribution, and prohibited from meeting in greater numbers than ten. Portugal was in the hand of Napoleon. The valuable island of Madeira was, however, confided to British care, to be restored at the conclusion of the war, if such a time should arrive before the prostration of the whole world.

It was now for England to consider—and never had she a more serious matter to ponder—whether she should leave the Peninsula to the tender mercies of Napoleon, or make it a final battle-ground on which their quarrel should be decided. The importance of the decision was supreme, because the quarrel of England had now become that of Europe: and the vital quarrel of Europe must ever be that of the world.

CHAPTER II.

1808-10.

NAPOLEON AND THE SPANISH BOURBONS.

WHILE Napoleon was busy in the north of Europe, he had never lost sight of his aims in the Peninsula: and he had induced his ally of Spain to furnish him with the finest of his soldiery, in large numbers. The flower of the Spanish army was in Pomerania, or Hanover, or wherever they could be stationed farthest from any summons of their sovereign. He next kept a vigilant eye on the dissensions in the royal family of Spain, which he did his best to aggravate, while declaring that he could not attend to other people's domestic quarrels. Godoy's spies discovered, in the autumn of 1807, that the Prince of Asturias was thoughtful, absent, and embarrassed; and the Spanish Minister at Paris wrote to Godoy, that there was certainly some secret between Ferdinand and the French government. The Prince's papers were seized. Some were in cypher, written by the Prince himself, and some by his deceased wife to her mother at Naples. In these there was no criminality, though they showed that he had secrets, and that he and his people hated Godoy and his agents. But there was a paper sealed with black, which conferred a commission after Charles IV. should have ceased to reign. The Prince explained that this was prepared as a precaution against Godoy's designs of seizing the crown on the death of the King. Though it were so, it was a painful and shocking circumstance for the King to discover. Godoy made the most of it; and the Prince was committed to prison, on a charge of conspiracy against his father's life and throne. This was in October. The Prince at length confessed that his secret correspondence with France was about obtaining a wife from the Bonaparte family, in order to escape the peril of being compelled to marry Godoy's sister-in-law. This confession, corroborated by testimony from Paris that the Prince and Napoleon had certainly some secrets, alarmed the Court party lest they should bring down the conqueror's vengeance on themselves. The Prince wrote penitential letters, imploring pardon of his parents for having acted a disobedient part; the King proclaimed that the parental heart had disarmed the hand of justice; and the charge was hushed up. There was a show of bringing to trial the Prince's confidants, on an accusation of treason: but they were all acquitted. Care was taken to keep them and the Prince apart.

1808-10. The walls of fortresses, or wide spaces of land and sea, were interposed between them; and Napoleon looked on, with a keen insight, perceiving that no cordial understanding could ever again exist between father and son, and that he could make use of their hatred to rid himself of them both. "I never," he said to O'Meara, "excited the King of Spain against his son. I saw them envenomed against each other, and thence conceived the design of deriving advantage to myself, and dispossessing both."

O'Meara, ii. 160.

French Invasion of Spain.

First, in November, he increased his 40,000 men on the frontier to 60,000; and he ordered them into Spain without asking that consent of the King which was stipulated for in the treaty. They

1807. were seen taking the road, not for Lisbon, but for Madrid; and there was no need of them at Lisbon, the Portuguese being so unresisting that Junot was marching on without seeing a soldier along his whole route. Moreover, two bodies of this army marched as far away from Portugal as could be—one down upon the Ebro, and the other towards Barcelona. The Court began to be somewhat uneasy at these demonstrations; but they had bound themselves to Napoleon for the guilty hire of the spoliation of Portugal; and they dared not call their master to account. He was himself in Italy, fixing the attention of the world upon his brilliant doings there; and nobody, out of the Peninsula, seemed to be observing how the French armies were lengthening themselves out over the highways of Spain, while the Bourbon Court sat trembling and watching for the movement to explain itself. There was a man in England, however, whose business it was to watch over continental transactions; and he had a keen eye, which was noting

1808. every thing. Next, in January, as soon as Napoleon had returned to Paris, he required a levy of 80,000 men, forestalling the conscription of 1809. Throughout France, the parents sighed, and said they thought the Treaty of Tilsit was to have given them peace. The levy was said to be against England; but the new soldiery were marched south. When over the frontier, they played snowball with Spanish garrisons, or drank with the soldiers, or obtained admission as sick of feigned diseases into garrison hospitals, or wore long cloaks with arms underneath, or quarrelled and fought — all by express order; and thus got into one Pyrenean fortress after another, till Spain lay as open to French invasion as if the mountains had been razed. St. Sebastian, Pamplona, Barcelona, and Figueras, were garrisoned by the French by the middle of March. When Godoy was importuned for instructions by dismayed commandants, he replied that he did not see how resistance was possible. Next, the monasteries were taken for barracks, and the monks turned out to shift for themselves. Waggon-loads of biscuits, baked at Bayonne and other French towns on the frontier, were brought down, and laid up in store: and, as a decisive act, the Spanish magistracy in the towns north of the Ebro were dis-

placed, to make way for French officials. Without a word of explanation, or the firing of a single shot, the whole of the north of Spain had become French before April, 1808; and the Spanish navy had been removed to the harbour of Toulon. Portugal had become French before the winter was over. The symbols of Portuguese nationality had been effaced; and the French arms and authorities were every where; in the provinces that had been promised to Godoy, no less than in Lisbon. In rage and dismay, Godoy heard of Junot's having assumed the entire government of the whole of Portugal, in the name of Napoleon. The inhabitants of Lisbon were groaning under the enormous exactions of the French General; and in the country, the despairing peasantry refused to sow their fields: in the courts, the old laws were gone, and the Code Napoleon was set up: and many of the native soldiery made themselves free of all law, becoming robbers in the mountains. Such was the condition of Godoy's promised territory. He sat watching, trembling and wrathful, and doing nothing. The keen-eyed man who sat in the Foreign Office in London was watching too, but not idly nor in fear. He was preparing to invite the British nation to make these outraged countries a final battle-field for the liberties of Europe. 1808-10.

When the Queen of Etruria came to Madrid, having given up her dominions without receiving, or having any chance of receiving, the promised equivalent of Portuguese territory, the Court saw that their affairs were indeed desperate. The fact had come out, in conversation in Paris, that Ferdinand's title was to be, no longer Prince of Asturias, but Prince of the Indies. More troops were pouring over the Bidassoa; and at last, the Imperial Guard itself. Napoleon sent to Charles a present of twelve fine horses, and was coming himself to Madrid to talk over the affairs of the Peninsula. Godoy persuaded the King and Queen to go down to Seville, to sail for their American dominions, as the Braganza family had done. The Prince could not determine whether to go or stay. The secret got out; the people were in a ferment at the prospect of being so left; the French ambassador thought it a great pity that such a step should be taken. On the morning of the day of departure, the Prince was heard to say he would not go; and the citizens resolved that he should not be carried away by force. When the carriages drew up in the evening, the people gathered round them, and cut the traces, and declared that nobody should go. They hunted Godoy for his life; and he escaped only by hiding himself under some mats in a garret: but his wife, to whom he was known to be outrageously unfaithful, was protected, and safely lodged in the palace. This was the beginning of a revolution which ended, in three days, in the abdication of Charles IV. in favour of his son. The King had first disgraced Godoy: but this was not enough. The unhappy man had fallen

TUMULT AT MADRID.

1808-10. after all into the hands of the populace, and barely escaped with his life, on the arrival of the Guards; and the King and Queen made no secret of their concern—going to the prison to see him. Ferdinand was the only one who could control the people; and to him the royal power was transferred, on the 19th of March. Thus did Ferdinand VII. attain the crown, not without suspicion on many hands of having been at the bottom of the insurrection which intercepted the flight of his father as King. In his Decree, the King declared his abdication to be free and spontaneous; and he said so to the assembled diplomatic body at Court; but in a private letter to Napoleon, two days afterwards, and in a Protest drawn up the same day, he set forth that his resignation of the Crown was forced, and that the act must be considered null. "I have been forced to abdicate," he wrote to the Emperor, "and have no longer any hope but in the aid and support of my magnanimous ally, the Emperor Napoleon."

Napoleon was not slow to interfere. The news of the insurrection of the 17th reached him at Paris in the evening of the 26th; and the next morning, he offered the crown to his brother Louis. The next step was to get the whole royal family into his hands; and Ferdinand first, as the most difficult. By a series of lies and frauds, infamous almost beyond example in history, the new King was tempted and drawn on towards Bayonne—his counsellors doubtful and remonstrating, the people alarmed and imploring, and at last proceeding so far as to cut the traces of the carriage. But he went, as under a sort of fatality, and the trap closed upon him as he entered Bayonne on the 21st of April. Murat was, meantime, the real ruler at Madrid. He so contrived as to obtain possession of the person of Godoy; and he sent him, under guard, to Bayonne. Then, he obtained long conferences with Charles and the Queen, evidently wrought upon them to set up a claim to retract the act of abdication, as extorted by force, and persuaded them that they would regain the crown (already given away to Louis Bonaparte), by going to Napoleon to ask him for it. So they, too, set out for Bayonne, and arrived on the 30th of April, four days after Godoy. Napoleon now held the whole party at his disposal, and could proceed to work out his objects in Spain—as he believed, without opposition.

The Court enticed to Bayonne.

The Spanish Nation.

To the British nation and the world the great interest was to know what the mind of the people of Spain really was, all this time; what its quality was; its hopes and wishes; its courage and firmness; its capacity, in short, for freedom. This was, at that juncture, the greatest question, the most important speculation, in Europe. If the Spaniards could not help themselves, they could not be aided: if they did not desire freedom, it could not be given them. If they were worthy to enter upon a last struggle for nationality, leaders might presently appear on their native battle-ground: if not, the battle-

ground ought not to be entered upon. This was the question which roused and occupied the mind of all England in the summer of 1808. 1808-10.

The first clear view we have of the Spanish people amidst these events, is when they were rising up, at the rumour of the royal flight to Seville, and gathering to prevent it. "Do you think," they cried, while mustering before the palace, "that we have no more spirit than the people of Lisbon?" When Ferdinand was hailed as King, all Madrid burst into a blaze of illumination, and the houses and streets were adorned with flowers and green boughs. The citizens fondly hoped that a new and a young King would lead them against the French; and recover their own country for their own occupation. They were dismayed when he persisted in going to Bayonne: and they became hopeless of aid from the royal family when it was made known over Europe that Ferdinand's parents insisted on the restitution of the sovereignty, his mother actually declaring to him (according to the testimony of Ferdinand's own adherents), in the presence of her husband and Napoleon, that his birth was illegitimate—that he was her son, but no son of the King's.—After this, we see the Spaniards meeting in the different provinces, to appoint provincial governments for the popular guidance and defence; and these juntas sending delegates to England, where now lay the only remaining hope of betrayed and insulted Spain. The first petitioners who came over were from so near the French strongholds, that their departure was an escape. They came from the coast of Asturias; and one of the two, an Asturian viscount, put off in an open boat. Mr. Canning was eager to show them kindness; and the whole British people offered them a hearty welcome. They declared fine things about the spirit and aspirations of the mountaineers in the north; and it seems that they either undertook to answer for all Spain, or that what they said of the north was extended, by the imagination and the hopes of their hearers, to the whole of the nation. Money, sympathy, and promises, were given them, in disregard of admonitions from cautious politicians to wait and see what men would be sent over as really national representatives. The Duke of Portland was, by this time, almost past stirring to do or decree any thing; and enthusiasm carried all such prudence before it. The favours lavished on Asturians presently brought over Gallicians and Biscayans, who were still only remote provincials, who could not be supposed capable of answering for the Spanish people. Some discretion in the English was required by the fact that we were still, absurd as it seemed, at war with Spain; and more, in the opinion of those who best knew the Spaniards, from their characters and training. By character they were disposed to be sanguine and very boastful: and by training, they were prone to depend on others, and to leave off acting themselves as soon as others began to move in their behalf. But it was not a moment

APPEAL TO ENGLAND.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 415.

1808-10. when the English people could be cautious. England would no longer be without allies; a nation was at last found in Europe which would spurn the rule of Napoleon, and such a nation must be supported with the whole power of Great Britain. It was decided by acclamation—by an acclaim which put down the warning voices of a few Opposition leaders—that the experiment should be tried of a conflict between an enthusiastic people and the armies of France—this enthusiastic people being sustained by money and other supplies from England; and, as soon as her forces could be got ready, by an army. Thus far, England had really not fought at all on land, since the renewal of the war. Her enemies had jeered, and her allies had complained, because her soldiers were to be found only on the sea, and lining her own shores. Now, they were to meet the French on the soil of Spain and Portugal, and Napoleon was in fact to cope with a new power. The large majority, in and out of the government, were too confident of the success of our arms: and a small number "despaired from the beginning," as we find Francis Jeffrey declaring that he did. He and other opposition men believed that in a short time not a British soldier would remain in the Peninsula, but as a prisoner. But they were regarded, naturally enough, as wanting in patriotic feeling and political faith; and aspiration seemed, for once, to have passed over from the liberal side to the conservative. Wilberforce and his friends were happy, anticipating the downfall of popery in Spain. Royalty and aristocracy were happy in the hope that the ruin of the upstart oppressor of kings was near; and Canning and the people (for Canning was then virtually on the popular side) were happy in having found a whole nation of brethren rising up to offer an exchange of sympathies on the question which absorbed the world. Amidst the joy and the hurry, the few who were mournful and quiet had other reason for their despair than dread of Napoleon. There was the weakness of the government at home: and this was indeed a fatal mischief.

England's Reply.

Memoirs of Horner, i. 439.

Mr. Canning had the misfortune to be brought into close and constant relations with Lord Castlereagh, who touched nothing that he did not spoil. Lord Castlereagh was Secretary at War; and his incessant blunders and constitutional incapacity trammelled the Foreign Secretary, and through him the whole Cabinet, as far as our relations with the Peninsula were concerned. The Greys and Jeffreys, being aware of this state of things, were largely justified in their apprehensions. Week by week, month after month, during the rest of the year 1808, their justification seemed to be growing complete.

Renunciation of Empire by the Bourbons of Spain. *May* 5th.

It was about the 1st of May that the citizens of Madrid rose in insurrection on hearing that Ferdinand was in Napoleon's power; and that Ferdinand had made a conditional renunciation of the crown. In a few days, "order reigned" at Madrid; and the

Spanish princes had renounced their whole empire, delivering their territories in Europe and elsewhere to Napoleon, and Ferdinand even writing to his successor under the title of "his most Catholic Majesty," to congratulate him on his accession to the Spanish throne. From that time, the family were prisoners in France: and from that time, as has since been observed, Napoleon began to experience his retribution. Within a month, all Spain was rising; and during the weeks of June, when the new constitution was in course of construction at Bayonne, under the direction of Napoleon, the inhabitants of Spain were every where cutting up the roads, refusing supplies to the French, and killing, in a spirit of desperate hatred, every Frenchman they could lay hands on. It was at this time that the enthusiasm in England was at its height.—In July came a check. On the 14th, a regular Spanish army, which was sent to intercept the new King's journey from Bayonne to Madrid, was totally routed; and then again, in a few days more, fortune declared for the other side. The French General in Andalusia, Dupont, had conducted warfare so infamously, that the spirit of the people was roused to the utmost, and they would now, if ever, show what they could do. The eyes of all England were fixed on the points of the Sierra Morena, while the forces sent after Dupont by the Junta of Seville were marching thither. Dupont capitulated at Baylen: and when the news reached Madrid, King Joseph, though only just taking breath after his intrusive journey, broke up his Court and left the capital—unable to bear the acclamations with which the tidings were received. The Spaniards were so elated with this first victory that they began to talk of not wanting the British. They were gratified by English sympathy, they said; but they had now no doubt that they could humble Napoleon, without assistance; and when they had freed their own country, they would conquer France. 1808-10.

Napier's Peninsular War, i. 135.

Negotiations, perplexed, and full of distrust, were going on meanwhile between the British at Gibraltar, and some leaders of the Spanish cause. They were perplexed, because there was some underhand dealing in the English Cabinet—some mutual counteraction between Lord Castlereagh and one or more of his colleagues: and the negotiations were full of distrust, because England and Spain were still nominally at war; and overtures from Gibraltar must necessarily appear suspicious to the authorities of the southern provinces of Spain.—On the 20th of July, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Corunna, and a fleet was following him, with troops which were to begin the seven years' war in the Peninsula. The commanders of these forces, and of the British ships which were riding round the coasts of Spain, were placed in a state of desperate perplexity by the orders of Lord Castlereagh: orders which it was out of all human power to reconcile, or, in any point, to execute. But the landing of Sir Arthur Wellesley on the coasts of the

LANDING OF BRITISH TROOPS IN SPAIN. *July* 20th.

1808-10. Peninsula was an event whose significance no mismanagement could impair. The British general promptly decided (being compelled to follow his own judgment) to make Portugal his first scene of action; and he went to meet the fleet at the mouth of the Mondego. There he learned that he was superseded in the chief command, and actually reduced to the fourth rank in the army which had just been put into his hands. Sir Hugh Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard, men quite unused to the command of armies, were suddenly, and without reason assigned, appointed to the highest commands; and Sir John Moore, on his return from his interview with the mad King of Sweden, was put under Burrard's orders; thus the conqueror of the Mahrattas was to find his place under all these three.—Sir A. Wellesley was not a man to throw up the service of his country in disgust, because he was personally ill-used, and because the War Office was badly managed. He knew that 10,000 British soldiers were in the Baltic, with nothing to do; and 10,000 more, equally idle, in Sicily; and large numbers crowding Gibraltar; and 5,000 more wandering without purpose or duty between Ceuta and Lisbon, while he had only 9,000 with which to encounter the French in the Peninsula, and begin war upon Junot. His professional sense was harassed by the extreme folly of the orders from home; and his personal feelings were outraged by slights almost too hard for human patience; but he did the best he could. He landed his troops (awaiting the arrival of those who were now his superior officers) between the 1st and the 4th of August; and, being joined by General Spencer from the south, found his little army amount to 12,300 men. — On the morning of the 8th of August, the British troops began to move—took the first step of a seven years' march to Waterloo. "It was the unhappy war in the Peninsula that ruined me," Napoleon said, years afterwards, to Las Cases. "The unfortunate war in Spain proved a real wound; the first cause of the misfortunes of France."

Napier, i. 179.

Las Cases, iv. 204, 205. O'Meara, ii. 167.

Successes of Sir A. Wellesley.

The first British blood shed in the Peninsular war was on the 15th of August, in a skirmish, in which the ardour of our soldiers made them rash. On the 17th, the British won the battle of Roriça, which was valorously contested by the French under Laborde. On the 21st, Junot himself was beaten out of the field at the battle of Vimieiro: and the destiny of the French in Portugal might have been settled at once if the victor had been allowed to manage the results of the victory he had gained. But Sir H. Burrard, who had very properly abstained from interfering with Wellesley's fame in the conduct of the battle, prohibited any vigorous movement after it: and the troops were not allowed to place themselves between the French and Lisbon. On the 23rd, however, Sir Hugh Dalrymple arrived, and in his turn took the chief command, ordering, in the first place, the desired advance. Before it could be entered upon, Junot sent an eminent general to

Napier, i. 217.

propose an agreement under which Portugal might be evacuated by the French. It was not on account alone of the loss of the battle of Vimieiro; for his troops had rallied with spirit, and with less damage than had been supposed; but Lisbon was about to rise in revolt; and the country was too much exhausted to permit the French to live upon its resources, if once they should lose the capital. Out of this arrival of General Kellerman at the outposts of the little British army grew the Convention of Cintra, and much justification to the few at home who were in dejection about the Peninsular War. 1808-10.

CONVENTION OF CINTRA.

After the news of the battle of Vimieiro, all England was on the watch for the next despatches, which would tell, no doubt, of the total extinction of Napoleon's power in that direction. In the middle of a September night, the firing of the Park and Tower guns roused thousands of citizens from their beds. In the morning the streets were full; but, as the true character of the news became understood, the general wrath and disgust were expressed in a manner positively alarming to the government. A convention had been arranged at Cintra, by the terms of which the French troops were indeed to evacuate Portugal, but at the expense of the British, and in their ships. They were to be landed, with all their property, between Rochefort and L'Orient; and no stipulation was made that they should not serve again immediately. The enemy were actually to be conveyed, at our expense, to a place whence they could, the next hour, proceed to attack Spain more conveniently than from their present position. The Portuguese and Spaniards were already remonstrating with the British generals; and now, the government at home was besieged with petitions and remonstrances. A Court of Inquiry was instituted, in which the members tried to evade a decision on the terms of the treaty: but the Duke of York brought them to the point; and some approved, and some disapproved, the terms. The King sent to Sir Hugh Dalrymple a formal declaration of his disapprobation of the whole proceeding. Lord Collingwood, before hearing of the Cintra Convention, disapproved so strongly of similar terms concluded on between the Andalusian army and the vanquished Dupont, who, with his troops, was to be conveyed to Rochefort at the expense of the conquerors, that he refused to allow so large a body of armed men to pass the sea till he was authorised to do so by instructions from home.—The plea of the generals, in defence of the terms they had made in the Cintra Convention, was that it appeared to them of supreme importance to be set at liberty to proceed to Spain. All the great fortresses in Portugal were in French hands; and the defeated army had much life and spirit in it yet. By ridding Portugal altogether of the French, the field would be cleared for the great Spanish warfare; and they thought this the greatest advantage they could obtain. When parliament met, the Opposi-

Ann. Reg., 1808, Chron. 267.

Ann. Reg., 1808. Chron. 281.

Ward's Memoirs, i. 189.

1808-10. tion moved a vote of censure on ministers for sanctioning the Convention, and were beaten by a majority of 50; a majority which was considered, under the circumstances, small.—A political consequence arose out of this business, which largely affected the interests of the country at a subsequent time. The Cabinet decided on sanctioning the Convention at a meeting held during an unavoidable absence of Mr. Canning; and they did it without consulting him, notwithstanding the office he held. This was the beginning of the hostility between him and Lord Castlereagh, which exploded at a disastrous crisis, a year afterwards.

Malmesbury Diaries, iv. 419.

The Russian ships in the Tagus, nine sail of the line and one frigate, were delivered up to the British, in deposit till six months after the close of the war, according to one of the articles of the treaty; the officers and crews being sent home at the expense of Great Britain.—During the first week in September, the British took possession of Lisbon, and were supposed ready to march on into Spain. But it was not till the 27th of October, nearly two months after the Convention of Cintra, that they were on their way to the more important field of action.

By that time, we find the most sanguine of the friends of Spain speaking in the same tone with the dejected and despairing whom they had so lately been rebuking. "Every thing, it is now manifest," wrote Francis Horner in that month, "depends upon the great operation on the Danube." By that time, Napoleon had planted his military posts, and taken possession of whatever suited him, from Flushing to Dalmatia. Hamburg groaned under his oppression. Austria could endure no more, and was planning to rise. The Pope, who had crowned him, had excommunicated him, and was imprisoned. Murat, his brother-in-law, was on the throne of Naples. Austria had busily repaired her finances, and recruited her forces, so as to compel both Napoleon and England to suspect that she meant to rise, though she was nominally the ally of France, and at war with England. Napoleon accordingly armed and strengthened the Confederates of the Rhine, and arranged an interview with Alexander, in order to keep him steady to his French alliance. Some advisers of government at home believed that much good might now have been done by cordial assistance being proffered to Austria by England: but the Duke of Portland was ill and apathetic, and Mr. Perceval was (what they called) parsimonious; and the autumn slipped away without any thing being done.

Memoirs, i. 433.

ASPECT OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

MEETING AT ERFURTH. *October.*

The French and Russian Emperors met at Erfurth, the Emperor of Austria sending an excuse for his absence. The pomp was great, Napoleon being attended by a suite consisting of the Princes of Germany. One of the amusements of the Potentates was riding over the field of Jena, and pointing out to each other the most remarkable scenes of the conflict. There was a magnificent breakfast in a tent; and afterwards the chase, and in the evening

a banquet. Prussia was too much humbled to stir: but Austria went on with her preparations. Her declaration of war against France bears date the 6th of April 1809. On the 21st of May Napoleon met with a decided check at the hard-fought battle of Aspern. But in July, he crushed the Austrian armies at the battle of Wagram; and once more dictated terms of peace. And this issue of "the great operation on the Danube" once more made Spain the only battle-field in Europe. Napoleon had indeed one adversary on the German side who was unsubdued, and who gave him much trouble; an humble innkeeper in the Tyrol, a peasant in appearance and manners, but a greater hero than any prince of them all—Andrew Höfer by name. This man made heroes of all his countrymen who came within the glance of his eye, or the sound of his calm and manly voice: and they took this opportunity of struggling for the independence of the Tyrol, by closing its mountain passes at once against the Bavarians and the French. For months after the battle of Wagram, they were still unsubdued; and they occupied a large French force very inconveniently. But Höfer was to follow the common lot. When all Europe went down before the conqueror, like a forest before the hurricane, it was impossible that a single tree should stand, however green and strong. In January, he was with his family, in a little cottage up the icy steeps. At four in the morning of the 27th, the place was surrounded, and he was carried down a prisoner. All the way to the frontier, the road was lined with a weeping and praying multitude. He alone could smile. After some mockery of a military trial at Mantua, he was shot, on the 20th of February, while his wife was taking care of their infants at home, and looking out, hoping against hope, for his return over the sheeted snow. If Napoleon did not care for the excommunication of the Pope, neither was he troubled by such groans and curses of multitudes of the humble and virtuous as would have broken the heart and turned the brain of any other man.

1808-10.

BATTLE OF WAGRAM. *July* 6, 1809.

ANDREW HÖFER.

While men were looking to Spain because there was no hope elsewhere, there was little comfort there. Napoleon had withdrawn the bulk of his army, when he wanted its services on the Danube; but the Spaniards made no use of the opportunity. They were disunited; feeble and inexperienced; and after the battle of Wagram, new French armies poured over the Pyrenees to flood the Peninsula. The British Ministry and the majority of the nation could not, or would not, understand the weakness, moral and military, of the Spaniards. They were so persuaded of the universal enthusiasm of Spain that they assured Sir John Moore, on his leaving Lisbon in October 1808, that the inhabitants would dispose of the French on either hand of his march, and they would assist him in preparing for the invasion of France from the south, as soon as the French should have been driven out of Spain. He soon

FALSE HOPES OF SPAIN.

1808-10. discovered that all parties were proceeding to plan, order, and execute, in total ignorance of facts. He could not learn any thing about the roads; and the forces were broken up into small divisions through a mistake on this point. He found little or no enthusiasm, and little enough of civility, on his route. The Spanish forces, so mighty on paper, were always heard of, but never to be seen. He entered Salamanca on the 13th of November, and thence wrote one of those letters, whose pathos was to deepen till the close. "Things are not," he reported, "in that flourishing state they are supposed to be in England." Sir David Baird had landed at Corunna, with a detachment with which he was to join Sir J. Moore at Salamanca. He wrote indignantly of the conduct of the Junta at Corunna, which gave him no aid, and caused him much embarrassment. Full ten days before it was possible that the junction could be effected at Salamanca, the news reached Sir J. Moore that the French were within twenty leagues of him—at Valladolid. If there were any Spanish armies, they had gone out of sight, into far corners. He had not a single gun, as the artillery had made a needless circuit, through false accounts of the state of the roads. His whole present force consisted of three brigades of infantry. The Spaniards did not tell him, and he discovered only by accident, that the numbers of the French were much exaggerated. As he expected reinforcements from the south, as well as from Corunna, he must not stir without urgent necessity: and while he was waiting at Salamanca, the Spanish cause was lost in Asturias, and General Baird was placed in danger by the French overrunning the northern provinces.

Sir John Moore's Campaign.

Then came the news of the total defeat of the Spaniards under Castanos at Tudela on the 22nd of November. While the Spanish generals were disputing about what their first object should be—whether to defend Aragon, or attack the French in rear, or join the British, the enemy came up against them on the Ebro, and at Tudela routed them utterly, stripping them of their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. This event left the British commanders no choice as to what they should do. All the British force in Spain was little above 25,000, while the French were 400,000, and the Spaniards, it was clear, could not be depended on to do any thing for themselves. The British must provide for their own safety. How to do this was one of the hardest questions ever left to be decided by a military commander. Sir John Moore was furnished with false information by the Junta at Madrid; and the Junta had succeeded in deceiving the British plenipotentiary, Mr. Frere, who insisted, even with threats, that the British generals should march to Madrid, and support what he declared to be the noble spirit of the Spaniards. Sir John Moore's judgments were necessarily fluctuating, because every day brought information, true or false, which had an important bearing on his plans. In the middle of

Napier, i. 422.

December, however, he came to a clear decision. He and the Spanish general, Romana, were to form a junction on the further bank of the Carrion, in the east of Leon, to attack the French who were advancing from Valencia. A large French force under Napoleon himself was at Madrid—actually occupying a part of it, while the Junta tried to keep the fact a secret. The moment seemed favourable for striking a blow at the French under Soult, before retreating: and the retreat might thereby be rendered unnecessary. It was possible that a victory might draw Napoleon from Madrid. By the junction of the British commanders, the force under Sir John Moore amounted to 23,583 men; with 60 pieces of artillery. Romana would bring a few; but the English had now learned not to rely on Spanish armies. 1808-10. Napier, i. 456.

The battle for which the British soldiers were longing never took place. The moment Napoleon heard of Sir John Moore's advance towards Soult, he left Madrid with 50,000 men, forced them fiercely over the mountains, in defiance of drifted snow and driving sleet, and hurried on to annihilate the English. But, on the other hand, the moment Sir John Moore heard of Napoleon's march from Madrid, he knew that he must retreat upon Corunna, or be answerable for the destruction of his whole force: and he had passed the Esla twelve hours before Napoleon came up, though the Emperor travelled almost without a pause. HIS RETREAT.

The retreat to Corunna is one of the most mournful passages of the war. The British had, as yet, done nothing in Spain, any more than they had previously done any where else on land. Their military reputation had still to be made; and the tens of thousands of gallant soldiers who were eager to begin to make it seemed to be incessantly baulked of the opportunity. At this time, the eyes of all the world were upon them; and at home the ears of the government and people were filled with the boasts of the Spaniards, and of British diplomatists in Spain on their behalf. A battle was at last to be fought. The very day was fixed; the very river was reached; and at that moment a retreat was ordered: a retreat in the depth of winter, with an insulting enemy pressing close upon them at every point. Sir John Moore himself had preserved a dignity of self-discipline amidst anxieties and provocations which was insufficiently appreciated at the time, but which now melts every heart which is reached by the tale. He held his own temper, language, and nerves, under stern and sweet control: but it was now more than he or any one could do to preserve a similar discipline in his force. The British were as yet the most inexperienced soldiery in Europe; and the "instinct of discipline" was not yet formed in them. The cold was severe: the comforts of the towns were tempting: in regard to military glory, all hope seemed to be over; at least, the men heard their officers say so:

1808-10. the officers became lax in regimental duty, and unrestrained in their murmurs. The British general had to bear the anguish of seeing his army not only miss glory, but incur disgrace. He had to rebuke them sternly for gross excesses.

Napier, i. 465.

Napoleon conducted the pursuit himself as far as Astorga, where 80,000 of his soldiers, with 200 pieces of artillery, were collected on New Year's day. If Sir J. Moore's soldiers could but have seen it, it was no small feat to have drawn the conqueror with the flower of his army away from the capital, and from threatening Portugal, into the obscure north-western provinces. The British could not fight, under the circumstances, and they might be driven into the sea; but at least they were occasioning a respite to the rest of the Peninsula.

1809.

At Astorga, Napoleon gave up the command to Soult. He was wanted at Paris, for Austria was preparing to offer war. He travelled almost alone to the frontier; but the Spaniards did not succeed in cutting him off by the way. He travelled too fast for them.

The British could obtain few animals of draft; and they were therefore compelled to abandon their magazines in the towns. They enjoyed the supplies in passing, and then destroyed what they could: but they were obliged to leave much wealth to the enemy. From the time they entered Gallicia, all possibility of a battle seemed over; and the country would not even sustain them in winter quarters. The General determined from that day to embark his troops at some one of the Gallician ports, and land them in the south of Spain, where their presence might be of more avail than in this ruined north-west corner of the kingdom.—He pushed on: but on every hand his men and the camp followers broke open the wine vaults and provision stores, and came out drunk and wild, so as to fall an easy prey to the frightful weather and the vigilant enemy. Sir J. Moore remained incessantly at the most important and dangerous post, in the rear. Here he received information about the ports, and decided to embark from Corunna, after halting at Lugo to restore the discipline of his army, and see whether there was yet a chance of engaging the enemy with advantage. He sent orders to the leading division to wait at Lugo: but General Baird entrusted the despatch to a dragoon, who got drunk and lost it. The consequence was that the van went struggling on when it should have been resting, and had to return to Lugo weary, and with a loss of 400 men by the way.—The country people gave no help or comfort. There was much talk of an armed peasantry burning with patriotism: but the armed peasants of Gallicia showed no other eagerness than to put themselves and their property beyond the reach of any soldiery. They drove their cattle up into the mountains, and hid themselves in the passes.—The road was now seen to be strewn with dead bullocks and

mules, and, too often, dead men: and barefooted men, and women with infants, struggled and tottered along in the snow. The money, hitherto kept at hand, must now be sacrificed, or a battle fought to defend it. It was thrown away—the amount being 25,000*l*. The bullocks could draw the load of dollars no further; and the money was rolled down the mountain side. An officer had pointed out in good time where fresh and strong bullocks might be had: but the officer in charge of the treasure neglected the information; and the dollars were left to be scrambled for by Gallician peasants and their enemy. 1808-10.

At Lugo, the forces recovered much of their tone; and their General offered battle to the French, hoping it would be immediately accepted, as the stores at Lugo were too scanty to admit of his remaining more than two days. But the French were quiescent, and the British were obliged to proceed. Great care was necessary; as there was a road by which their flank might be turned: and the country behind them was made intricate and perplexing by the multiplicity of stone walls which cut it up into patches, and split it into numberless lanes. The proper road had been marked by bundles of straw. On the night of the 8th of January, the camp fires were heaped up so as to burn brightly for a long while, and the English withdrew in silence, each column under the guidance of a qualified officer. But before they were all off the ground, a storm came on which destroyed the landmarks, and only one division out of three found their road. Again, discipline gave way, and the loss of men before the next halt was greater than in the whole preceding part of the retreat. 14,000 infantry only marched on to Corunna, under the command of Sir J. Moore himself. He now put himself in front, because the embarkation was to be the next great act he was to superintend. As he reached the heights from which the sea was visible, he looked with eager eyes to the harbour of Corunna. It was empty of ships. The British vessels had been detained at Vigo by contrary winds. A battle might be necessary, after all; and at the very point where rest and safety had been promised to the harassed and relaxed soldiery.—The people of Corunna behaved well, and gave what help they could. The city was strengthened on the land side, and laid open on the sea front. The horses, now worthless, were killed; a large quantity of ammunition, too far beyond the town walls for use, was blown up; and a position was chosen for awaiting battle, if the ships should not arrive in time to prevent it.

They did not arrive till the 14th. During the next night, the sick and the dismounted cavalry were quietly embarked, with some good horses and fifty-two pieces of artillery. Several general officers now advised their commander to negotiate for terms which Napier, i. 492.

1808-10. should secure the safe embarkation of his troops. It must have been a sore necessity which could have bowed his spirit to this. He might have asked leave to embark his force if the enemy had won, by victory, the right to control his movements: but his army, though in bad plight, was not defeated. He would ask no favours. By daylight on the 16th, every thing was on board but the soldiers and their equipments. They were to be shipped, as soon as it grew dark: but about two in the afternoon it became clear that the enemy meant to fight. There was to be a battle at last.

Battle of Corunna. *January 16th.* Napier, i. 493. 494.

The British were under severe disadvantages from the nature of the ground, and their inferiority of numbers. They were about 14,500 strong; and the French about 20,000. The British had new arms and good powder, served out from the stores at Corunna; and this was their only point of superiority to the enemy. Yet they beat the French, at this last moment; and if the days had not been so short, must have wholly overthrown them; for their ammunition was nearly exhausted, and the rising of the tide in the river behind them would have hemmed them in between itself and the extended lines of the British. But the darkness came on, and the officer now in command, Sir John Hope, embarked the troops, according to previous arrangements; and they left the Gallician shore without further molestation.

Death of Sir John Moore. Napier, i. 497. 499.

The officer now in command was Sir John Hope; for, before the embarkation began, Sir John Moore was dead and buried. While he was watching the critical point, in the critical moment of the battle, a cannon-shot, shattering the left shoulder, struck him from his horse. He rose to a sitting posture on the ground, and his eyes were still fixed on the thick of the struggle. His countenance brightened when he saw that the English were working onward. As the soldiers carried him in a blanket from the field, he repeatedly made them turn round, that he might see whether the fight was still going well. He was so quiet, under his intense pain, that some soldiers hoped he would do well: but he looked steadfastly at his wound, and said that it was impossible that he should live. He was calm to the last; said he had always wished to die this way: he was gratified that we had beaten the French; he hoped the people of England would be satisfied—that his country would do him justice. He was full of interest about his officers, and the acknowledgments due to their merits; and the only moment of agitation was when he spoke of his mother. The guns which boomed when his body, wrapped in a cloak, was laid in a grave hastily dug in the ramparts of the old citadel of Corunna, were those of the French, letting the battle drop, as the British pressed them hard. Those who buried him had to hasten, as the signal was given for embarking. But every one is familiar with the incidents of that burial, through the noble dirge—"Not a drum was

heard—" which carries a funereal gloom and pathos into the hearts of those who know nothing else of Sir John Moore but that he there died, and was so buried. 1808-10.

Government at once made it appear that Sir John Moore was too great, and his conduct under the circumstances into which they had sent him too admirable, for their appreciation. They spoke of him with a cold disfavour, in parliament, which showed how little they had of his patience, his prudence, and his fortitude. Others, and not a few, whose feelings on behalf of Spain were less shallow, and less petulant and passionate, though not less devoted, did justice to the General who went out to war, and found himself opposed, not immediately to a flesh-and-blood soldiery, but, first, to a dread invisible force of Adversity. He heroically accepted that post from which every man must feel an inward recoil; that generalship which no man can seek or desire. His lot at the time seemed hard, even to his depreciators: his lot seems now, with time, glorious to their hearts' content to those who loved him best. When the petulance and passion of the day were over, his last wish began to be fulfilled; and now, the people of England are satisfied; and Sir John Moore's countrymen do him justice.

Thus mournfully began the year 1809, and thus were the hopeless justified so far in their despair of the cause of Spain. There was rough controversy in parliament about the conduct of the Spanish war, and the conclusion of the Portuguese branch of it. It is difficult for us of the present day, accustomed as we are to the glory of the British arms, to conceive of the irritation, the shame, the disgust—not to say the fear—with which foreign campaigns were regarded, before our arms had begun to be glorious in the contest with Napoleon. The names of Nelson and other naval commanders were adored — not only for what the men did, but because their names stood between us and disgrace. The whole misery was not understood by the people at large; the incapacity, self-will, and wrong-headedness, of the royal family, and of the War Minister, Lord Castlereagh. Government was called to account in parliament, and some experienced officers and displaced statesmen spoke their minds very plainly: but the people generally had only an oppressive and exasperated feeling that we were, as we had been for years, paying money lavishly without any visible result: that we were not succeeding; and that Napoleon was not only unchecked, but extending his tyranny every year with a relentless continuance, too like the spread of the shadow of an eclipse, not now far from being total. GLOOMY ASPECT OF THE WAR.

If the aspect of affairs was thus gloomy at the opening of 1809, it was so much the more so at the close, as no efforts in opposition to the conqueror had been of any avail. In July, three weeks after the fatal battle of Wagram, the British and Spaniards won

1808-10. the hard-fought battle of Talavera, in Castille; and the gallant Wellesley seemed to have driven back the French at last; but fresh combined forces poured down upon him; and, in the beginning of August, he found that he could save his army only "by great celerity of movement." It was only where he (now become Lord Wellington) prevailed by his presence and authority, that any thing was done. The Spaniards so failed him and one another, that he was obliged to retire into Portugal and entrench himself upon the Tagus, while the French humbled our boastful allies in every direction where they chose to turn. At the close of 1809, all the fortresses of Spain were in French hands, and all the Spanish armies were routed.

Wellington's Despatches, iv. 532.

In Spain. Annual Reg., 1809, p. 201.

There was nothing in the conduct of the war in other quarters to sustain the spirits which were depressed by the ruinous condition of Spain. An expedition was sent from Sicily — 15,000 men under Sir John Stewart—against Naples; chiefly for the purpose of preventing the new King of Naples from sending his forces out against Austria, and (at least, so the Neapolitans believed) also for the restoration of Ferdinand IV. to the throne. Some success attended the British and Sicilian arms at first; but the French in Naples soon cleared the country of the English. The expedition went out in June; and by October, we had no footing left on the coast or islands which at first appeared to have been gained.

In Italy.

The Walcheren Expedition.

The remaining enterprise, the distinguishing one of the season, had consequences which extended through a long course of years, and which, indeed, affected the destinies of England more than any other event of the time. It was the Walcheren Expedition, which disgraced the Government, turned the poor King's brain beyond recovery, removed Mr. Canning from the government, broke up an administration, and caused a sweep of mortality among the British soldiery, enough to bear down all hope and heart, at the most critical time of the war.

Three times before, during the war, it had occurred to one or another, connected with the government, that it would be a good thing to hold Antwerp, and command the Scheldt, seize the French ships in the river, and get possession of their arsenals and dockyards. On each occasion, men of military science and experience had been consulted; and invariably they had pronounced against the scheme. Now, however, what Mr. Pitt had considered impracticable, Lord Castlereagh, with the rashness of incapacity, resolved should be done: and, in order not to be hindered, he avoided consulting with those who would have objected to the enterprise. Though the scene of action was to be the swamps at the mouths of the Scheldt, he consulted no physician. Having himself neither naval, military, nor medical knowledge, he assumed the responsibility — except such as the King and the Duke of York chose to share. As for the poor Duke of Portland, he was

capable of doing mischief by his being half dead; how much mischief, soon appeared: but he was past doing any good; and in this great affair he was passive. It was May, 1809, before any stir was apparent which could lead men outside the Cabinet to infer that an expedition for the Scheldt was in contemplation: but so early as the beginning of April (it is now known), Mr. Canning signified that he could not share in the responsibility of an enterprise which must so involve his own office; that he could not act with a War Minister so incapable as Lord Castlereagh; and that, if Lord Castlereagh was not removed, he himself must resign. The Premier begged for a little delay, on the ground that a charge against Lord Castlereagh, of trafficking in a seat in parliament, was then under discussion in the Commons; and any move against him in the Cabinet, at that moment, might be fatal to his prospects. In May, when the preparations for the Walcheren Expedition were becoming known, Mr. Canning again urged his request. The matter was laid before the King, and communicated to Lord Camden, Lord Castlereagh's uncle. Both admitted that a change must be made; and the King's wish was, that the foreign correspondence should be wholly transferred to Mr. Canning's department. But this would still have left Mr. Canning responsible for the Walcheren Expedition; and he continued to urge his objection, which he, from that time, understood to be adopted by the Cabinet. The Duke of Portland afterwards assumed the entire blame of so concealing the affair, as that Lord Castlereagh was kept entirely in the dark as to the Cabinet's opinion of his incapacity, and Mr Canning's objection to work with him. When the ships, in their gallant array, were riding in the Channel, before the eyes of the French, the new plea arose that Lord Castlereagh must be allowed to complete his enterprise, and have the credit if it succeeded: and when it had failed, it was declared that such was not the moment to crush him; and irresistible appeals were made to Mr. Canning to hold on till the affair had blown over. Throughout the whole, Mr. Canning was sacrificed by all parties—the King, the Premier, and Lord Camden: and, next to him, Lord Castlereagh was the injured person—no power having been given him to judge and act in his own case. It was not till the autumn that his position was revealed to him through a fatal explosion.

1808-10.

Ward's Memoirs, i. 219.

MINISTERIAL EMBARRASSMENTS.

Life of Canning, 247.

Ward's Memoirs, i. 239.

The fleet that rode in the Channel consisted of 39 ships of the line, 36 frigates, and a due proportion of small vessels: in all, 245 vessels of war: and 400 transports carried 40,000 soldiers. Only one hospital ship was provided for the whole expedition, though the Surgeon-General implored the grant of two more. He gave his reasons, but was refused. Mr. Wilberforce was on the Sussex coast when the noble spectacle of the great armament passed by; and he was full of misgivings, as were others who, for the whole course of the war, had seen the successive failures of the "expe-

Life, iii. 414. 427.

1808-10. ditions" sent out till, as Mr. Wilberforce said, they had become sick of the very word. The naval commander was Sir Richard J. Strachan, whose title to the responsibility no one could perceive, while many who had more experience were unemployed. The military command was given (as the selection of the present Cabinet had been) to Lord Chatham, for no better reason than that he was a favourite with the King and Queen, who liked his gentle and courtly manners, and his easy and amiable temper. It was wholly a court appointment, expiated by the poor King at length more bitterly than many a crime might have been by a man in a lower station. The fatal mistake was made of not defining the respective authorities of the two commanders; and both being inexperienced or apathetic, each relied upon the other first, and cast the blame of failure upon him afterwards. In the autumn, an epigram of unknown origin was in every body's mouth, all over England:

> "Lord Chatham, with his sword undrawn,
> Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
> Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
> Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham."

The fleet set sail on the 28th of July, and was on the coast of Holland the next day. The first discovery was that there were not boats enough to land the troops and the ordnance. The next was that no plan had been formed about how to proceed. The most experienced officers were for pushing on to Antwerp, forty-five miles off, and taking it before it could be prepared for defence; but the commanders determined to take Flushing first. They set about it so slowly that a fortnight was consumed in preparations. In two days more, on the 15th of August, Flushing was taken. After this, Lord Chatham paused to consider what he should do next; and it was the 21st before he began to propose to go on to Antwerp. Then came the next discovery, that, by this time, two intermediate places had been so strengthened that there must be some fighting on the way. So he did nothing more but take possession of two small islands near Flushing. Not another blow was struck; not another league was traversed by this magnificent expedition. But the most important discovery of all now disclosed itself. The army had been brought into the swamps at the beginning of the sickly season. Fever sprang up under their feet, and 3,000 men were in hospital in a few days, just when it became necessary to reduce the rations, because provisions were falling short. On the 27th of August, Lord Chatham led a council of war to resolve that "it was not advisable to pursue further operations." But, if they could not proceed, neither could they remain where they were. The enemy had more spirit than their invaders. On the 30th and 31st, such a fire was opened from both banks of the

Annual Reg., 1809, p. 561.

river, that the ships were obliged to retire. Flushing was given up, and every thing else except the island of Walcheren, which it was fatal to hold at this season. On the 4th of September, most of the ships were at home again; and Lord Chatham appeared on the 14th. Eleven thousand men were by that time in the fever, and he brought home as many as he could. Sir Eyre Coote, whom he left in command, was dismayed to see all the rest sinking down in disease, at the rate of hundreds in a day. Though the men had been working in the swamps, up to the waist in marsh water, and the roofs of their sleeping places had been carried off by bombardment, so that they slept under a canopy of autumn fog, it was supposed that a supply of Thames water to drink would stop the sickness; and a supply of five hundred tons per week was transmitted. At last, at the end of October, a hundred English bricklayers, with tools, bricks, and mortar, were sent over to mend the roofs; but they immediately dropped into the hospitals. Then the patients were to be accommodated in the towns; but, to spare the inhabitants, the soldiers were laid down in damp churches; and their bedding had, from the beginning, been insufficient for their need. At last, government desired the chief officers of the army Medical Board to repair to Walcheren, and see what was the precise nature of the fever, and what could be done. The Surgeon-General and the Physician-General threw the duty upon each other. Government appointed it to the Physician-General, Sir Lucas Pepys: but he refused to go. Both officers were dismissed, and the medical department of the army was reorganized, and greatly improved. The deaths were at this time from two to three hundred a week. When Walcheren was evacuated, on the 23rd of December, nearly half the force sent out five months before were dead or missing; and of those who returned, 35,000 were admitted into the hospitals of England before the next 1st of June. Twenty millions sterling were spent on this expedition. It was the purchase money of tens of thousands of deaths, and of ineffaceable national disgrace. 1808-10. Annual Reg., 1809, p. 225.

That the whole affair would be brought under the notice of parliament might have been considered a matter of course: yet Lord Chatham took a step which, after it had been debated upon, caused his retirement from office under an imputation of underhand dealing. He delivered into the King's own hand a private statement of his case, which, of course, involved an accusation of his colleague, Sir Richard Strachan. Some time after the whole discussion was over, he complained in private of the conduct of the Ministers to him, declaring that he did not mean his letter to be concealed from them; and that this was well known to Mr. Perceval: that he had laid it down sealed, declared what it was, and desired that it might be read whenever Sir Richard Strachan should deliver in his statement. The Ministry resisted the motion INQUIRY IN PARLIAMENT. Ward's Memoirs, i. 369.

1808-10. of Lord Porchester for an inquiry into the Walcheren business, three days after the next meeting of parliament: but they were beaten; and again they were defeated on the question of the production of Lord Chatham's private statement. On this last point, the King was necessarily brought into court as a witness. He declared that such a document could not be produced, because it no longer existed. The original statement had been put into his hands, with an humble request that it might be kept secret: the writer had asked for it back again, in order to insert some corrections; and when it was again proffered, the writer was referred to the Secretary of State. Every effort was made by the Court and the Ministry to screen Lord Chatham; and they so far succeeded as to bear down a vote of censure on him in parliament. At seven in the morning of Saturday, the 31st of March, 1810, three divisions gave majorities to Ministers of 40, 48, and 51. But this availed little to their colleague, whose reputation was past saving by any parliamentary vote. He resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and was succeeded, after an interval of a few weeks, by Lord Mulgrave. It was a matter of deep concern to the friends of Mr. Pitt to be compelled to pronounce on the conduct of his brother; but the mournful silence of some told against him as strongly as the open censure of others; and he was a ruined man, as regarded his political career.

Ann. Reg. 1810, p. 57.

Hansard, xvi. 421.

Naval Successes.

Some few successes at sea came at intervals to relieve the gloom of the war, and save the nation from the superstition that Napoleon was invulnerable. Lord Cochrane was a brave and spirited commander. When under Admiral Gambier, in the spring of 1809, he destroyed a considerable part of the French fleet off Rochefort. Four ships of the line were taken and blown up at their anchorage; and seven more ran ashore, and were either destroyed or wholly disabled. The French had placed a boom in front of their line for a defence; but the British ships, coming down with all their weight, under favour of a strong north wind and a flood tide, broke through the boom, and carried all before them. Only ten lives were lost on the British side in this action, while the prisoners taken were several hundreds. The British success in decimating the French navy seems to have been invariable. As soon as it began to revive, it was cut down again. The brave and noble Collingwood, now gradually sinking under the pressure of fatigue, anxiety, and home-sickness (for he had never been permitted to enjoy more than one single year of repose since he left home after his marriage, and had never met Lady Collingwood but twice for many years), was yet vigorous in professional action. It is a touching story—that of his long years' services in the Mediterranean. He kept Napoleon in check and in awe; he saw his ship wearing out in the tempests and tossings of that great gulf of which he was sorely weary; and he felt that he was himself

(f) Despatch, Ann. Reg., 1809, p. 429.

Lord Collingwood.

wearing out under a worse stress of the mind and heart: but he held on bravely, with a mournful patience which rebukes the impatience of the readers of his letters; and the conqueror felt to the last the restraint of his presence in the world. He was now never more to see wife or child: but they were still to hear of his deeds for some months longer. In October 1809, he destroyed a French fleet, consisting of three sail of the line and four frigates, convoying twenty large transports which were carrying relief from Toulon to Barcelona. In the same autumn, a squadron from his fleet took several Greek islands, before garrisoned by the French. Upon this the government of the Seven Islands was immediately restored, to the great joy of the inhabitants. After these feats, Lord Collingwood gravely represented to government the peril to his life of remaining longer at sea without rest; and on the 27th of March, 1810, Lord Mulgrave wrote the long-desired permission to him to come home. Sir Charles Cotton was to take his place; and the members of the government looked forward with pleasure to the opportunity of testifying their respect and gratitude, and to the happy spectacle of his recovery in his own home. So said the letter written by Lord Mulgrave. It came back to the Admiralty with the seal unbroken. Lord Collingwood had died three weeks before its date. His was as hard a professional life as his friend Nelson's, and a harder death. His moral life was an easier one, notwithstanding all its dreadful privations; for he was a virtuous man, whose home was always a thought of peace. Sickened as his heart was by hope deferred, and tantalized affections, it had no storms of passion and of shame to sustain. We are abashed at the thought of pitying one so good and great: yet a tender and respectful pity is perhaps the first feeling called up by the name of Collingwood, in those who have contemplated his life.

1808-10.

Despatches, Ann. Reg., 1809, p. 569.

Ib. p. 589.

Ward's Memoirs, i. 199.

HIS DEATH, *March* 7, 1810.

Among the troubles consequent on the European war, we had now to reckon a quarrel with the United States, which was becoming more serious from year to year.

TROUBLES WITH AMERICA.

The anti-commercial decrees of Napoleon were issued in November and December 1806. One of the articles of these decrees ordained that no ship should be admitted into any port under the control of France without a certificate which should declare where she came from, and that no part of her cargo was English. The British government hoped that if a retaliatory decree should be issued by them, neutral states would be roused by the injury to their commerce to resent and resist the "Continental System" of Napoleon: and Lord Grenville's Administration therefore issued an Order in Council, in January 1807, which interdicted the passage of vessels between any two ports which were not freely open to British commerce. No good effects being found to result from this measure, the Portland Administration followed it up, in the next November, by a more stringent Order, which provided that, with

ORDERS IN COUNCIL. Ann. Reg., 1807, p. 671.

Ib., p. 746.

1808-10. certain exceptions, all ports, in the colonies or elsewhere, from which the British flag was excluded, should be considered, in regard to trade and navigation, as in a state of blockade; and that all vessels trading to or from such ports, or carrying any produce or manufactures of such countries or colonies, should be considered, with their cargoes, lawful prize to their captors. The Opposition not only protested against the policy of such a proclamation as this, but questioned its legality; and the matter was hotly contested in parliament during the session of 1808.

The American government had made it clearly understood at the Courts of London and Paris that it had never acquiesced in the original decree of Napoleon: and its indignation at the British Orders in Council, which, if duly executed, would annihilate American commerce, was naturally strong. An Act of Embargo was passed by Congress, interdicting commerce with both England and France: and by the end of the summer, the American newspapers were proclaiming the consequent national loss to be 48,000,000 of dollars, and pointing out, in a very stimulating manner, how many national benefits might have been achieved with such a sum as that. In August, the American Minister, Mr. Pinckney, made advances towards an accommodation, proposing that if American commerce were expressly exempted from the provisions of the Orders in Council, the American embargo should be removed. Time had been afforded for some such amicable arrangements with the United States by a Bill which had passed in the spring, "for the regulation of intercourse with America," and an envoy, Mr. Rose, had repaired to Washington, to negotiate an arrangement. It became our government to make every effort to satisfy the Americans, because we had certainly in one case offended against international law and understanding. A sea fight had actually taken place from the commander of the British ship "Leopard" having attacked an American frigate, poured three broadsides into her and boarded her, because she refused to permit a search for deserters. Mr. Canning, on hearing the news, at once avowed to the American Minister in London that the Commander of the "Leopard" had enforced an untenable claim. Mr. Rose returned without having effected any accommodation. Mr. Pinckney's offer, made in August, did not close the dispute: and Mr. Erskine was sent out, to try what he could do on occasion of a change of President; Mr. Madison succeeding Jefferson in 1809. At the beginning of that year, the danger of a war seemed imminent; revolting as was the idea of such a war arising out of the mutual injuries of two European powers, who were trying to ruin each other. The repugnance of the Opposition was so strongly expressed in parliament at the beginning of the session, that in April the British government modified their Orders in Council so as to favour America expressly, by opening to her shipping the Baltic, the

Ann. Reg., 1808. Chron. 85.

Ann. Reg., 1807, p. 228.

Ann. Reg., 1809. State Papers, 752.

Ann. Reg., 1809. State Papers, 763.

German Ocean, part of Italy, and the foreign possessions of the Dutch. This was so far well: but there was a strong feeling in both countries that the mischief was not over. With an enemy like Napoleon, apt and eager about embroiling his antagonists, and with a Ministry like that which now governed England, at once weak and insolent, the nation had well nigh lost hope of not having the whole world against her, while contempt was every year mixing more largely with the dislike with which England was regarded. Nelson was gone: and Wellington had not yet had opportunity to vindicate his country's name. Her name and fame were at this date very low, while Napoleon was at the summit of his. Causes were in operation which were to turn the scale; but nobody yet knew it; and the national heart was heavy enough in the year 1809. 1808-10.

Besides foreign adversity, these was, this year, domestic disgrace. The King was proud of his second son. While harsh towards the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Kent, and not apt to be affectionate to any body, he seems to have been really fond of the Duke of York. And externally there seemed to be reason for it. The Duke had for seventeen years been respectably married. The old reports of his gaming tendencies had died away; and it was undisputed that he had considerably improved the organization and discipline of the army. Yet rumours were abroad of something being wrong; prophecies that a new Commander-in-Chief would soon be wanted; intimations that further afflictions were in store for the poor old King; and expressions of compassion for the Duchess of York. With the opening of 1809 all was made clear. On the 27th of January, the well-known Mr. Wardle, a colonel of militia, and commonly called Colonel Wardle, drew the attention of the House to the danger the country must be placed in, at such a time as the present, by corruption in the Military Departments of the state. He indicated a house in Gloucester Place, splendid with carriages, servants, and fine furniture, as the nest of the corruption he spoke of. In this house, he said, the Duke of York had placed his mistress—a woman named Mary Anne Clarke—who was in the habit, as could be proved, of selling offices in the army, by means of her favour with the Commander-in-Chief. Mrs. Clarke had, in one instance, taken a bribe of 500*l.*, which she paid over to a silversmith as part payment for a service of plate—the Duke of York discharging the remainder. Other cases were detailed which convinced the hearers, in the midst of their consternation, that there must be some ground for the charges. The positions laid down by Colonel Wardle were, that Mrs. Clarke possessed the power of military promotion: that she took money for the use of that power; and that the Commander-in-Chief shared the money. There were further allegations of Mrs. Clarke having been bribed by clergymen and gentlemen to procure appointments in the

CHARGES AGAINST THE DUKE OF YORK.

Hansard, xii. 179.

1808-10. Church and the State: but the military abuses were those that the House had first to deal with. The members of the government, while indignantly denying the charges, desired, on the part of the Duke of York, a full and fair trial of his conduct. This was eagerly agreed to by all but a few political fanatics, who pronounced the whole business to be a tail-piece of the French Revolution, which it would be dangerous to countenance by any attention whatever. When they had said what they had to say, the question was debated whether the method should be by a Secret Committee, bound to publish the results of the evidence, or in open House.

Parliamentary Inquiry.

The friends of decency desired the Secret Committee; but the majority saw reasons enough for a more open investigation to procure it; and for two months, the time of parliament and the attention of the public were wholly engrossed by the subject and its infamous details. Spain was forgotten; and Napoleon himself was almost lost sight of, while Mrs. Clarke and her associates came down through crowded streets, and passed into the House through a lane of gazers, to give evidence at the bar. The woman was wholly unabashed—in full possession of her wit and grace, and so ready with the story of her successive amours as to alarm certain of her hearers, and stimulate the vicious curiosity of the whole nation. Wilberforce, whose sensitive and religious nature was tortured during the whole process of inquiry, observed that it was "curious to see how she won upon people." The extreme liberals in parliament were tolerant to her, and more than tolerant, for the good they thought she was doing in overthrowing any popular veneration for the royal family, and exposing the corruption that was at the heart of the administration of the most important of public affairs. The truest lovers of their country mourned, and almost despaired. For some years, the popular temper had been growing savage under the stimulus which a long war affords to the brutal passions. The rapid increase of crimes of violence had been unquestionable for some time past. There were more murders, and they were of a more savage nature; and a new brutality had introduced itself into commoner offences. And now it seemed as if the domestic virtue of the nation was to be tainted, and the imagination was to be familiarized with licentiousness. Much vice became suddenly shameless: the newspapers became at once "indecent publications:" and the spectacle was presented of the national legislature forgetting or excusing the vice of the case in the entertainment afforded by the unrestrained cleverness of the singular witness they had called to their bar. The subject of the domestic virtues of the sovereign was dropped while his eldest and third sons were living in open adultery, and the second and favourite son, the best public servant of the family, was upon his trial before the country for profligacy like that which was now laid open. In the churches, the worshippers remembered that certain of the clergy

Life, iii. 403.

Ann. Reg. 1807, p. 143-145.

had paid court to the mistress of a Prince, however they might spurn the less guilty outcasts in the streets. In the country towns, men anxiously noted the amusement their representatives evinced under the sallies of Mrs. Clarke's wit at the bar of the House. In the streets through which the Duchess of York might have been passing, the sweeps and errand-boys, playing at pitch-and-toss, cried, not "Heads or Tails," but "Duke or Darling." Even they had picked up that word from the evidence, though they could not read it. Among the tens of thousands who were so soon to mourn over the plague-ravages of Walcheren, there were many who suffered more from this moral Walcheren campaign which had to be gone through first. 1808-10.

It appeared so plainly, during the investigation, that Mrs. Clarke acted in a spirit of vindictiveness against the Duke, with whom she had quarrelled; it was so clear that she was now in close connexion with Colonel Wardle; and her word was so evidently worth nothing at all, that hopes began to be entertained by those who dreaded "a popular triumph" that the affair would blow over. But it was too serious for that. It was understood that the Ministers thought that the alternative lay between the Duke's resignation, and his impeachment by parliament; and when it was rumoured that the Duke steadily refused to resign, the Opposition leaders were dismayed. They said that, if it once came to an impeachment, all was lost; for the Lords would certainly acquit. Lord Malmesbury asserted that the Duke's accusers were "instigated by levelling principles, and had no other view than the sinking and degrading all rank:" Lord Eldon was calling the House of Commons the "bloodhounds of St. Stephen's;" and Lord Melville, of all men, was busying himself in the Duke's defence. It was feared that all constitutional safeguards would be broken through, to save a member of the royal family. But the minority in the Commons was too considerable, and in every way too respectable, to be slighted; and the object of the inquiry was presently obtained. As soon as the evidence had been all received, the Duke of York addressed a letter to the Speaker of the Commons, dated February 23rd, in which, after expressing shame at the connexion which had brought his public virtue into question, he declared on his honour, as a prince, in the most solemn manner, that he was wholly ignorant of the traffic carried on by Mrs. Clarke. If this was true—and to doubt the word of any gentleman so offered was very painful—a note which had come, by a sort of accident, into the possession of the House must have been a forgery, though the hand-writing was declared to be his by many witnesses from the Post Office and the Bank. Night after night, the subject was debated—the House rising sometimes at three in the morning, and sometimes at six. On the 17th of March, there was a division on a Resolution of Mr. Perceval's, that the Duke had no guilty know-

Memoirs of Horner, i. 452.

Diaries, iv. 418.

Life, ii. 71, 69.

Hansard, xii. 132.

Hansard, xiii. 709.

1808-10. ledge of the corrupt proceedings proved. The majority on this occasion was only 82 in a House of 464 members. There was to be one more debate at least; on a motion of Mr. Bathurst's for an Address to the King, requiring the resignation of the Commander-in-Chief. But the Duke anticipated the decision of the House by voluntarily resigning his office. On the 20th of March, Mr. Perceval read to the House parts of the Duke's letter to the King, in which he declared that, as the House of Commons had declared him innocent of the charge of corruption, he could approach his Majesty, to offer his resignation of his office, without being supposed to do so from fear of the result. Under the circumstances, this mode of expression was not wise or graceful—any more than the claim he advanced to credit for patience and firmness in meeting the inquiry.

Resignation of the Duke of York.

Hansard, xiii. 712.

The Duke was displaced: but there was a general expectation that he would not long remain out of office. Lord Althorp wished the House to pass a Resolution which should exclude him from office permanently; but for this parliament was not disposed. They regarded the Duke as having been infatuated by the arts of a corrupt person, and led into misconduct in his office which merited a severe check; but, apart from this, his deserts as Commander-in-chief were too eminent to permit a nation so ill-served as England was at present to banish from public affairs one of her ablest officers. General Sir David Dundas assumed for a time the vacant place at the Horse Guards; and the Duke of York returned to it in 1811.—As regarded Colonel Wardle, the conclusion was somewhat ludicrous. Public meetings were held in honour of his patriotism and chivalrous courage, and addresses were sent up to him from Glasgow and Canterbury, from London, Westminster, and the county of Middlesex, and many more. Before all had had time to address him, he was condemned to a payment of 2,000*l.* and costs at the suit of the upholsterer who had furnished Mrs. Clarke's house at the Colonel's expense. The Colonel published in the newspapers a protest and vindication, grounded on a charge of perjury against Mrs. Clarke and her abettors. This issue wrought strongly in favour of the Duke of York, and facilitated his return to office.—After making every allowance, however, it is impossible not to feel disgust at the tone of the courtiers on the occasion. The pious Lord Eldon—the man supremely favoured in the possession of a Conscience—is found writing in his most sentimental style about the affecting letters of the King, and the most affecting letters of the Duke, and the handsome and dignified way in which they behaved to the Ministers, while we find not a word about the injury to meritorious officers of being kept down in favour of men who would rise by bribing a courtesan; not a word about the iniquity and woe of corrupting the military service: not a word of reprobation of the profligacy for which no language

Annual Reg., 1809, p. 148.

Ib., p. 127.

Life, ii. 71, 72.

would have been severe enough if it had been chargeable upon an Opposition nobleman, or any man whose rank placed him under the feet of the sanctimonious Lord Eldon. 1808-10.

Scarcely was this strife over when another, which was all the while preparing, burst forth.

The revelations induced in the cases of Lord Melville and the Duke of York promised to secure extensive reforms, in regard both to national office and property. In the public arrears of the Admiralty Board, 11,600,000*l.* were unaccounted for in March of this year. In St. Domingo, there had been, within four years, an expenditure of 7,700,000*l.*, as yet unaccounted for: and the Commission of Inquiry, which cost the nation 13,000*l.* a year, had as yet exhibited no result of its exertions. The several Commissioners delivered their Reports; but it did not appear that they had laid hold of the peculators. Great exposures on this subject were made in the Commons, in the debate of the 21st of March. On the 27th, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the sale and brokerage of offices. He declared this measure to be a consequence of the disclosures made in the course of the late inquiry about the Duke of York. His information determined the House to inquire, by means of a Committee, into the management of East India patronage: and the abuses in the sale of writerships and cadetships were found to be so enormous, that a sweep was made among the appointments of late years, and a considerable number of young men were recalled from India, amidst the compassion of society, which did not attribute to them the corruption which had first opened fair prospects before them, and now blasted all their hopes.—Out of this matter, again, arose the discovery that Lord Castlereagh had been dabbling in the dirt of this market. He had been bartering an Indian writership for a seat in parliament for his friend Lord Clancarty—thus abusing at once East India patronage and the integrity of parliament. The charge was brought forward by Lord A. Hamilton, on the 25th of April. Lord Castlereagh admitted the facts, and acknowledged the offence; but he pleaded harmlessness of intention, and also of result, for the bargain was accidentally broken off. In consideration of this (which was surely no good reason) and of the frankness and humility with which the accused acknowledged his offence, he and his abettors were let off with the dishonour and disgrace. The House, "considering all the circumstances of the case, and that the intention referred to in the evidence was never carried into effect, does not think it necessary," says the Resolution, "to come to a criminating Resolution on the same."—Again, on the 5th of May, there was a new charge against Lord Castlereagh, in which Mr. Perceval was included; and on the 11th it was debated. The charge was that these two Ministers had procured by purchase a seat in parliament for Mr. Quintin Dick, and had afterwards

INQUIRY INTO ABUSES.

Hansard, xiii. 745.

Ib., xiv. 218. 224.

Ib., xiv. 254

Ib., xiv. 486.

1808-10. endeavoured to influence his vote in the Duke of York's business. About the purchase of the seat it would have been hypocrisy in those days to pretend to be ashamed: but it was heinous misconduct to attempt to influence votes, and to dismiss their nominee for his independent judgment, after these very Ministers had declared that the inquiry into the Duke of York's business was purely judicial. The Ministers were, however, so strongly supported by the Grenville party, in their dread of the question of Parliamentary Reform, and of exposure of similar acts in the days of former administrations, that the minority was very small; only 85 to 310.

Memoirs, ii. 281. Romilly's remark upon it was, "The decision of this night, coupled with some that have lately taken place, will do more towards disposing the nation in favour of a Parliamentary Reform, than all the speeches that have been, or will be, made in any popular assemblies."—The "conscientious Perceval" was, at the very time of using this intimidation on a judicial question, spending hours and thought, and pen and ink, on preventing the members of parliament from being tempted to travel on a Sunday—as if he had been put in charge of their private consciences while he was tampering with a political one. He had fixed the opening of the Session for a Monday: Wilberforce remonstrated, feeling it unsafe to trust the members to come up on Saturday. Perceval explained

Life of Wilberforce, iii. 397. and regretted at some length; and at last changed the day to Thursday. "The House put off nobly by Perceval," writes Wilberforce. So much for the camels and gnats of that time!

Quarrel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning. It was during these proceedings that silence was enforced upon Mr. Canning by his *chef* and other colleagues, on the plea of Lord Castlereagh's adversities in parliament: and then, as has been told, succeeded the plea of the Walcheren expedition. Upon Canning, too, was laid the task of saying what could be said in excuse for the sinning minister under the accusations of the House. His position was so hard that on the last day of May, he told his story to the King himself, thinking that the failing Duke of Portland might not have made all clear to the royal mind. But the King laid his commands upon him not to resign at present. "The *sine*

Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 80. *qud non* with Canning," the Premier wrote to the Chancellor (who could not endure Canning, but understood how indispensable he was to the Administration), "is to take from Lord Castlereagh the conduct of the war." Before the end of June, the Premier disclosed to Mr. Canning that changes were to be made in the War Office; and then, for the first time, Mr. Canning was informed that the whole matter had been concealed from Lord Castlereagh. During the whole of July, he was put off with assurances that new arrangements were making, and that Lord Castlereagh's mind was in course of preparation for the change.

Statement, Ann. Reg., 1809, p. 583. When he pressed for precision as to dates, he was told that in six weeks, when the issue of the Walcheren expedition should be

known, he should either be satisfied or permitted to resign. At the appointed time he was urgent. The event of Walcheren was known on the 2nd of September. On the 3rd, he wrote to the Premier at his country seat, and learned on the 6th, that no arrangement had been even considered; that Lord Castlereagh was, at that hour, ignorant of all that had been thought in regard to him for the last half year; and that if he, Canning, should persist in his resolution to resign, he must be responsible for the dissolution of the Ministry. No alternative was left, after such usage as this. Mr. Canning intimated that he should attend no more Cabinet councils, and should discharge the duties of his office only till his successor should be appointed. 1808-10. Statement, Ann. Reg., 1809, p. 584.

Now, at last, Lord Castlereagh was informed of that which it so much concerned him to know. He immediately resigned. At the moment when his great Walcheren scheme had lapsed into humiliation and disgrace, he discovered that his colleagues had for many months been agreed upon his incapacity, at the instigation (as he conceived the matter) of Canning. He was never clear-headed; and the tumult of feelings into which he was now plunged was not likely to make him more logical than usual. He wrote a long letter to his adversary; a letter abounding in mistakes of fact and false reasoning, and ending in a challenge. It would have been too absurd, even to his confused and narrow understanding, to challenge a man for thinking meanly of his abilities. He expressly declared that this was not his ground of complaint; but that Mr. Canning's justifiable demand was unjustifiably "executed." Mr. Canning might have declined fighting on the ground that he was not concerned in the "execution" of his own demand, and had, in fact, as much reason as any body to complain of it: but Canning was a man of the world, and had the moral weaknesses of that character. He declared that Lord Castlereagh was mistaken in his whole view: but he did not explain how or where; and he went out to fight as illogically as his challenger. The duel took place on the 21st of September, within sight of the windows of Pitt's death-chamber. They fired twice; and at the second discharge, Mr. Canning was wounded in the thigh. He was able, however, to attend the levee on the 11th of October, to resign the seals. His friend Huskisson went out with him. Ib., p. 562. Ib., p. 563. THEIR DUEL.

It had been evident to the King in August that the Duke of Portland must retire; and the Chancellor was called into consultation about it. Not the less angry was Lord Eldon now with Canning, whom he accused of breaking up the repose of the government—of the government which had this year sunk to the lowest point of popular contempt. Now was the time for the Duke of Portland to retire. He did so, and died on the 29th of October. CHANGES IN THE CABINET. Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 78.

1808-10. The duel and its antecedents were sad and shameful enough from every point of view: but perhaps the worst results were those which manifested themselves in the temper of Canning, and the political career of both, for the next few years. Lord Castlereagh had so little mind, so amiable a temper, so superficial a sensibility, such accommodating manners, and, furthermore, the command of so many votes in parliament, that his mortifications were soon got rid of, by himself and the leaders of his party: and his country had the misfortune to be served by him for a long course of years after his exclusion from power for ever seemed decided. Mr. Canning had done nothing which need even delay his return to office; and no man was so urgently needed—so indispensable, as almost every body but Lord Eldon said at the time. But his temper was not softened or sweetened by what had happened; and he was now to show himself more haughty and irascible than ever before, while out of his right place, and unable to settle down in any other. He had "fluttered the Volces," and now he must go through a period of banishment, and bear it as he might. He had been injured; and he was angry; and the portion of his life now to come was far from being the happiest.

The Marquess Wellesley was at this time in Spain as our ambassador. He was doing good service in exposing to the English understanding the untrustworthiness of the Spaniards, and the weakness of their cause: but he was now wanted at home. Indeed, any man of ability was so precious in those days of Ministerial incapacity, that the difficulty was to decide where to put him, while every office was in pressing need of him. The Ministry had been ignominious in its coming in, and in its conduct; and now, the ignominy of its going out deprived its leaders of Canning—their only able man at home. They sent at once for his friend Wellesley from Spain, appointing Henry Wellesley (afterwards Lord Cowley) to take his place as ambassador. This done, the time till Lord Wellesley could return must be employed in negotiation. The parties seem to have been these. First, the remaining Ministers, who still called themselves the Pittites. Next, the friends and constant allies, Lord Wellesley and Canning. Thirdly, the Addington group. Fourthly, the Grenville set. It was thought possible by Mr. Perceval, who was really amiable in his personal transactions, that Lord Wellesley, on his return, might accomplish Canning's resumption of office. One difficulty in the way was, that neither Perceval nor Canning could take the lead in the Commons, so as to compel the other to be his subordinate. Though it was desirable, on the whole, that the Premier should be in the Lower House, it might be arranged otherwise, so that the two men might remain on an equality before parliament. Canning would have liked that Perceval should be removed to the other House, by the gift of a peerage; but Perceval

Ward's Memoirs, i. 208.

declared that this would be "clapping an extinguisher upon him in the shape of a coronet;" and besides, he had not fortune to support new rank. So Canning was left till Lord Wellesley should return; and the first application was made to Lords Grenville and Grey. It was so manifestly out of the question that they should take office, on account of the Catholic question, that Lord Grey did not think it worth while to come to town from Northumberland. Lord Grenville, who was in Cornwall, thought it more respectful to the King to come to town; but did not for a moment admit the possibility of taking office. Their friends thought the application was merely for the purpose of gaining time for Lord Wellesley's answer to come. 1808-10. THE GRENVILLE PARTY.

There remained the Sidmouth party. Lord Sidmouth's sensitive vanity was sorely wounded by the awkwardness with which this negotiation was begun. Mr. Perceval's want of tact in a former address to Lord Melville was hardly greater than he now manifested in his dealings with Lord Sidmouth. First, he sent the marplot, Lord Chatham, on the 5th of October, to propose to Lord Sidmouth employments for his party, without any mention of his lordship himself. This extraordinary method of negotiation was explained by Mr. Perceval in a letter no less extraordinary. He hinted that some friends of his, at present indispensable, would not hear of Lord Sidmouth being in the government: but that the objection might hereafter give way, if the Addington coterie should render good service meanwhile. The letter, Lord Sidmouth said, amounted "in substance only to this; if you will persuade *your* friends to support me, I will endeavour to persuade *mine* to permit you to come into office some time or other." This was not a winning method to use with a vain man; and Mr. Bathurst and Mr. Vansittart, the friends sought, refused to take office without him. THE ADDINGTON PARTY. Life, iii. 8.

There was now nothing to be done but to construct an Administration out of the old materials, strengthened by the accession of Lord Wellesley, if he should come. He did come; and he succeeded to Canning's office, of Foreign Secretary. Mr. Perceval was Premier, being Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as First Lord of the Treasury. Lord Liverpool took Lord Castlereagh's place at the War Office, to the surprise of many who thought that the ablest man was wanted there: and his place at the Home Office was filled by the Hon. R. Ryder. The other offices were filled as before, except that Lord Palmerston became under Secretary at War, in the place of Sir James Pulteney. It was December before the arrangements were completed. In the midst of them the contest for the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford, vacated by the death of the Duke of Portland, was going on—Lord Grenville being a candidate against Lord Eldon and the Duke of Beaufort. The struggle was an important one, considering the pressure of the Catholic question at that time. The opinion entertained of Lord MR. PERCEVAL PRIME MINISTER.

1808-10. Grenville's soundness as a churchman was shown in his election by a majority of 13 over Lord Eldon. The King indeed remarked, that "it would be hard if Cambridge had a Unitarian Chancellor" (the Duke of Grafton), "and Oxford a Popish one:" but it is clear that the most zealous body of churchmen in the kingdom thought Protestantism safe in the hands of Lord Grenville. The Catholic claims were not at that time decided to be a revolutionary question.

Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 110.

THE JUBILEE: It was a melancholy season for a Jubilee, this close of the year 1809; yet a Jubilee there was, on the entrance on the fiftieth year of the King's reign. The old man himself was nearly blind, and his wits were wavering: he was at variance with his heir; his favourite son was just disgraced; and he was in displeasure with others of them. The "Pittites" were in a state of collision among themselves; and the government in deep discredit at home and abroad, on account of the Horse Guards' exposure and the Walcheren affair. All hopes from Spain were dwindling away; and Napoleon was, at present, in the very insolence of his power. It was noticed that Napoleon no longer rendered an account to the legislature, as one responsible for the conduct of public affairs; but that he offered a narrative—a history vouchsafed by himself to them of what he had thought proper to do and decree. It was pointed out that he now spoke of "my empire," instead of "the empire;" and that, in every direction, he had given up all pretence of being a popular ruler. Holding the Pope in imprisonment at Avignon, and having made four kings and a viceroy of his nearest relations, he was at this time meditating another step, to accomplish which he summoned his family to a grand meeting, the purpose of which was painfully suspected by his unhappy wife. Napoleon represented to his family the necessity of providing an heir to his throne. He caused them to see that it would be mere obedience to the Providence which had enthroned him; and they immediately discovered a secret article in the Treaty of Vienna, which favoured his wishes. When Josephine hastened to meet her husband, after the battle of Wagram, she saw that something was wrong; and when, after dinner one day, he took courage to tell her that he must, however unwillingly, divorce her, she had to be carried, by himself and the physician, in convulsions, and by a back staircase, to her apartments. But before the family council, she commanded herself, and agreed, though with a faltering voice, to the divorce. The Senate dissolved the marriage immediately, appointing to Josephine an income of 80,000*l.* a year, and the title of Empress. The Emperor of Austria lost his hold on the sympathies of Europe by eagerly giving his daughter to Napoleon: and so quickly were affairs managed that, within four months of poor Josephine's first alarm, the new wife was receiving the homage of France in the Tuileries. Thus was France apparently towering above the nations,

Ann. Reg., 1809, p. 242.

NAPOLEON'S DIVORCE.

Alison's History of Europe, vii. 784.

HIS NEW MARRIAGE.

while Spain was crumbling down beneath their feet. It is true that all was not what it seemed: it is true that Napoleon's aggressions on Spain were destined to bring on a fatal retribution; and that this Austrian alliance aroused the jealousy of Russia, which had coquetted with him, and afterwards indulged the vindictiveness of a deserted coquette: it is true that the new marriage was, as Napoleon himself said, "a pit covered with flowers." But nobody knew these things at the time. No hollowness was apparent when, in the autumn of this year, the summons went out for the family council, and Austria was making ready to go over to the conqueror; and the English people were invited to hold a jubilee, in which there could be little mirth. The cries for Reform, and what the King took for revolution, had become so vehement throughout England, that the Court was almost as much concerned as the enlightened liberals to see how little fit the Opposition leaders were to cope with the times. While the government had been trying (thanks to Romilly, in vain) to make their Sedition Bills more stringent, the Opposition leaders were showing themselves undecided, backward, indistinct in their views, isolated in their conduct; fit neither to cope with the rash bigots on the government benches, nor with the railing malcontents out of doors. In the midst of the depression abroad, and the quarrels at home, in defiance of the gloom which was settling down upon the world, the Jubilee was to be held, and men were to be joyful and loyal on the 25th of October, at least, whatever had gone before or should come after.

1808-10.

GLOOM ABROAD AND AT HOME.

Memoirs, ii. 283.

Memoirs of Horner, i.462.

The Jubilee was held, and with much real fervour of loyalty. Sir Samuel Romilly foresaw that it would puzzle posterity to account for the unquestionable popularity of the King at this time: but the causes may still be understood and appreciated. Whatever was happening abroad, we were still safe within our own islands, with a throne in the midst; and the phrase about "rallying round the throne" was then neither hackneyed nor absurd—the long war appearing to have sprung directly from the great revolution abroad, which had played such tricks with thrones. The aged King, nearly blind, and now sinking, now rising, in mental health, saved us from the regency of a Prince whom nobody loved, and whose vices the best people feared. The King's family troubles and personal sufferings secured to him the respectful sympathy of all but the heartless. Last and least, it was agreeable to be summoned to any public rejoicing in such times; and the whole nation seemed to feel it so.

THE FIFTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN.

Memoirs, ii. 299.

At Windsor and Frogmore, the royal residences, the display was, of course, the most imposing. From the first blast of the trumpets at six in the morning, to the last of the fireworks at midnight, all was show and festivity. The royal family attended service in the Chapel, and the Princes and Princesses offered their tributes of

CELEBRATION.

Annual Register, 1809, Chron. 395-399.

1808-10. honour to "a reign sacred to piety and virtue." All the church bells in the kingdom were ringing; all the streets were gay with processions during the day, and shining with illumination at night. Every body sang "God save the King" and "Rule Britannia:" and all corporations feasted. The poor feasted too; and all deserters from army and navy were pardoned; and the bulk of society was, no doubt, the better for that day. They knew that there were grand doings in the far corners of the earth, by appointment, in sympathy with home; meetings in Canada, balls at Bombay and Calcutta, and some remission of toil, some faint revival of the sensation of citizenship, in the convicts at Botany Bay. It was something to know this. It was something that the Park and Tower guns should fire for something else than bloodshed. The national heart needed a holiday; and this was an innocent and natural occasion. Those who could not admire the old King could wish him well. Those who could not praise his reign could respect his length of days. Those who would not have originated rejoicings at such a time fell in with the geniality of others, without too curiously asking why. The Jubilee went off well; and those who were most proud of it were most eager to point out how unlikely it was that there should ever be another.

CHAPTER III.

1810.

THE close of 1809 was marked by two trials in Westminster Hall which tested the quality of English Jury trials, and which were therefore watched with an interest which bore no proportion to the importance of their subjects. One was a prosecution of Mrs. Clarke and two tradesmen, by Colonel Wardle, for perjury. A mob filled Westminster Hall, and disturbed the proceedings by their shouts in favour of Colonel Wardle, the popular idol of the day. Lord Ellenborough, Chief Justice, was the judge. The honest jury returned a verdict of Not Guilty. Memoirs of Horner, ii. 8.

The other trial arose out of some late riots in Covent Garden theatre. It appears strange now that, at such a time, a time when the liberties of the world were in jeopardy, and when adversity was besetting our own country on every side, men could feel interest enough about theatre prices to make a riot. But, from whatever cause, whether from dulness under the circumstances of the war, or from the excitement of a quarrelsome temper, which is one of the consequences of war, or from a sincere conviction that the principle of fair play was in question, it so happened that the O. P. riots of 1809 were a very serious matter indeed. O. P. QUESTION.

On the morning of the 20th of September, 1808, at four o'clock, Covent Garden theatre was perceived to be on fire. It was in every way a most disastrous fire. That the theatre was destroyed was by no means the worst part of it. Seven houses near were totally demolished; and many more rendered uninhabitable. Several dramatic works, of which no copies existed outside the theatre, and, worse still, much music of Handel, Arne, and other composers, of which likewise there were no duplicates, were lost. By the fall of a burning roof, eleven men were killed at once, and others fatally injured. It is curious now to read the record of the anxiety that was felt about Drury Lane theatre, from the flakes of fire that were blown upon its roof: and how men got upon the roof, and opened the cistern, and kept such watch as to save the second theatre. The cause of the fire was supposed to be the lodgment among the scenes of the wadding of a pistol, fired by the hero of the favourite dramatic piece of the day—Pizarro, which was adapted for the English stage by Mr. Sheridan, the principal proprietor of Drury Lane theatre. BURNING OF THE THEATRES. Ann. Reg., 1808, Chron. 106.

1810. On the night of the 24th of February next, when the Commons were discussing the conduct of the war in Spain, and Mr. Sheridan was listening, while waiting to speak, the House was filled with a glare of light so extraordinary that cries of "Fire! Fire!" interrupted the concluding part of Mr. Canning's speech. Drury Lane theatre was on fire: and it was Mr. Sheridan who informed the Ministers, in a low tone across the table, that it was so. The sympathy for him was so strong that the adjournment of the debate was demanded by several members: but Mr. Sheridan calmly said that "whatever might be the extent of the individual calamity, he did not consider it of a nature worthy to interrupt their proceedings on so great a national question." He left the House, accompanied by all good wishes. But he knew that the ruin was desperate. The destroyed theatre had been deep in debt before. It was looked upon as a new theatre, because it was the successor of one burned down in 1793. The architect had exceeded his estimate so enormously that the debts seemed hopeless before; and now, the building was burned down before its erection was paid for. From the false estimates of architects arose the subsequent mischiefs connected with the theatres; and among others, the O. P. riots of 1809..

Hansard, xii. 1105.

Life of Sheridan, ii. 367.

The expense of rebuilding Covent Garden turned out to be so heavy, that the proprietors raised the prices of admission. The public were not disposed to allow this; and they alleged that advantage was taken of Drury Lane theatre being in ruins to fix a monopoly price on a public amusement. A separate cause of complaint was the erection of 28 private boxes, by which the area for the public was much contracted, and facilities were supposed to be afforded for corrupting the morals of the frequenters of the theatre. A vigorous opposition was prepared for the first night, the 17th of September. On the steps, a mob was vociferating for the Old Prices, long before the doors were opened. The emotion of surprise at the beauty of the structure and its decorations caused silence at first; but when Mr. Kemble appeared to speak the opening address, the uproar began. For three months afterwards it continued throughout the performances. The people in the pit turned their backs upon the actors; and the din of cries, stamping, horns, trumpets, dustmen's bells, and watchmen's rattles, was insufferable. When the cry of O. P. could no longer be heard, the letters were stuck upon hats and placards; and at length, there was fighting—serious boxing between the police and the audience, and between rival partisans, and tearing up of benches, and breaking of chandeliers. A sort of troubled pause ensued when the combatants became weary; and it was hoped that the mischief was over, when an incident occurred, out of which grew the trial in Westminster Hall. Mr. Clifford, a barrister, appeared one night in the pit with the letters O. P. in the front of his hat. Way was made for him to the centre, amidst cries

O. P. Riots.

of "way for the honest counsellor." The box-keeper, Mr. Brandon, caused Mr. Clifford to be arrested, and carried before the Bow Street magistrate. The magistrate immediately discharged him. Mr. Clifford indicted Brandon for an assault and false imprisonment. The trial took place before Sir James Mansfield, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and his charge to the jury was an express direction to acquit Brandon. The jury, however, satisfied that Mr. Clifford's act was not one of riot, gave their verdict in his favour. The judge expressed strong regret, and fears that evil consequences would ensue; but the crowd in the neighbouring streets thought otherwise: and they hailed the verdict with cheers which were heard as far as human voices would reach. The managers now found they must yield. They relinquished the prosecution of other parties who had done as Mr. Clifford did; dismissed Brandon (who was soon reinstated, however) and restored the old prices. A reconciliation dinner, with Mr. Clifford in the chair, and Mr. Kemble at his right hand, took place on the 4th of January; and the toast of the evening was the prosperity of both parties; the gain of the public in amusement, and of the proprietors in emolument. The fears of the Judge were not realized; and the sober opinion of the country, adverse to the rioters on both sides, was with the jury which had found a verdict against the Judge's charge.

1810.

Memoirs of Horner, ii. 8.

The best men were now looking forward with a dull pain of mind to the opening of the session. They knew what would be done on the Court side. The financiers of the Cabinet would talk of the growing prosperity; of how well the people were off, notwithstanding the taxes; and of how well trade flourished, in spite of Napoleon's decrees, and our own Orders in Council. The delinquents in the Walcheren expedition would be screened: the single victory in Spain, which had borne no fruits of success, would be paraded, and nothing effectual would be proposed for the prosecution of the war. On the Opposition side, there would be complaint, exposure, denunciation, but no large and generous scheme of reform, and no united action. And it turned out just so.—The government must have been hard pressed for topics of congratulation when they put into the King's mouth felicitations on the destruction of the docks and arsenals at Flushing, as a result of the Walcheren expedition. Such words, uttered at a moment when our soldiers were dying by thousands, and our money had been spent by millions, were too impudent (for that is the right word) for endurance: and the amendments moved by Lord St. Vincent and Lord Grenville, on the discussion of the Address, were strong in proportion. The most interesting circumstance to us now in the opening of this session is, that it was the young Mr. Peel's first occasion of appearing in any sort of connexion with the government. He seconded the Address in the Commons, enlarging chiefly on the necessity of unanimity in

OPENING OF THE SESSION.

Hansard, xv. 1.

MR. PEEL.

1810. parliament, as essential to due resistance to Napoleon, and to our doing our duty by those who were struggling against his usurpations. One observation strikes the eye as remarkable, in connexion with events at home soon to happen: "With regard to our internal condition," he said, "while France had been stripped of the flower of her youth, England had continued flourishing, and the only alteration had been the substitution of machinery for manual labour." The time was at hand which should afford some remarkable illustrations, both as to the prosperity and the machinery. It took many long years to illustrate the mind and character of the young member whose "animated speech" now interested the House, and made the ministers agree that they had made an acquisition in young Mr. Robert Peel. Before the end of the year, he was Under-Secretary for the Colonies.

Hansard; xv. 43.

The Minister's Statement. Ib., xvi. 1044-1057.

Mr. Perceval's statement of the national prosperity was offered in an exulting mood. Great public works—roads, canals, and docks—were proceeding, as if in a time of settled peace; and the manufactures and commerce of the country were still rising, while Napoleon, who had some time since wanted only ships, colonies, and commerce, had lost the colonies and commerce of France, and could make no use of his remaining ships, which were pent up in their ports, from fear of our navy. The returns from the property tax, which had, as regarded trades and professions, sunk during two former years, were again on the increase. If there had been stagnation in some of our manufacturing and trading districts, from our position with regard to America as well as the continent, new channels were opened, and, in one direction or another, we found our industry in request. This was true. It could not be told in parliament what new channels were opened; but it was known by all who could use the information that, during the preceding year, the island of Heligoland, in the Baltic, had been fortified, and made a commercial depôt, for the purpose of smuggling British goods into Denmark, and also into Germany by the Elbe and the Weser. In this year, the small Danish island of Anholt in the Categat was strengthened and employed for the same purpose. It was in May that the flourishing statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were made, at a moment when his spirits were raised by the knowledge that the American Congress was then engaged in opening our trade with the United States. He overlooked, however, some portentous facts which ought to have changed the whole aspect of his representations.

The great public works spoken of by Mr. Perceval were entered upon at the same time (many of them in 1808) with the wild speculations ventured upon by our merchants in consequence of the expedition to Buenos Ayres, and other supposed openings to an unlimited commerce. Waterloo Bridge and Vauxhall Bridge were planned and subscribed for in 1808; and the great issue

1810.

of paper money then, and for some time after, raised both wages and prices, and caused a false exhilaration and a fictitious prosperity, the retribution for which had hardly begun, or was not apparent to government, at the date of Mr. Perceval's exhibition of his budget in 1810. There had been a warning, however, at the close of 1809, such as would have changed the tone of a minister of the present day. The heavy rains in the autumn had so far impaired the prospect of the harvest as that in December the average for wheat had reached 102*s.* 6*d.*; and the grain imported during the year cost nearly 3,000,000*l.* The spring of 1810 was cold and wet: large importations of grain, even to the value of 7,000,000*l.* took place; and the price of wheat was rising while Mr. Perceval was speaking; and in August it had reached an average of 116*s.* A period of fine weather reduced it to 94*s.* 7*d.*, and ruined the corn-dealers. Just at the same time, the British commodities in the Baltic were confiscated, ruining many merchants; and the accounts came in from South America, exhibiting such desperate losses as ruined many more. Within a few months after Mr. Perceval's boastful declarations, the collapse of credit was more tremendous than had ever before been known in so short a space of time. The crash began in July, with the failure of some great commercial houses. In August, a London bank stopped; and several country banks were brought down by its fall. Wild fluctuations in prices followed; and in November the number of bankruptcies in England, which had usually been under 100, had risen to 273, "besides stoppages and compositions," as the Commercial Report declared, "equal in number to half the traders in the kingdom." Manufacturers no longer trusted the merchants, nor employed the operatives. In Manchester, houses were stopping "not only every day, but every hour." The commissions of bankruptcy for the year now amounted to 2,314, of which 26 were against bankers. The hunger of the operative classes, and the outcry against machinery as the main cause, prepared the events of the succeeding dark years.

ADVERSITY.

Tooke's Prices, i. 303.

COMMERCIAL CRASH.

For December, 1810.

There was some foresight, however, among the more clear-headed members of both Houses of Parliament. Lord Grey delivered a long speech, introducing some resolutions, called by the sanguine very gloomy, on the state of the nation; and many joined him in the demand for inquiry into the expenditure of government, and into some gross abuses and corruptions. A member of the Commons, Mr. Joseph Hunt, was expelled the House, by an unanimous vote, for having drawn 10,000*l.* from the Bank without accounting for the sum: and the Embezzlement Bill, brought in by Sir John Newport, was passed in the face of some protests from government officials, who asked what "gentlemen of respectability" would venture upon office, if the punishment of transportation hung over them. Motions for retrenchment met

EFFORTS AT REFORMS.

Hansard, xvii. 533-574.

Ib., 171.

Ib., xv. 434

1810. with less favour, Mr. Perceval seeing "not the least occasion" for such proposals, after the government had promised to conduct the national affairs in an economical manner. A protest against sinecures was carried in opposition to the government; but, of course, it could not immediately become available for any public relief.—These proceedings, however, impelled Mr. Perceval to some show of action on the right side. His father, while First Lord of the Admiralty, had granted to his eldest son, and in reversion to Mr. Perceval himself, the lucrative office of Registrar of the Admiralty and Prize Courts. Mr. Perceval now proposed some "regulations" of this office, which, however, were not to take effect till after his tenure of it had expired: and the fees contemplated were not to be saved to the suitors, but in part paid over to the Consolidated Fund. Romilly objected to such an abuse: but his objection was not even noticed: and when he further observed that the holder of the office was still allowed to make a profit by the use of the suitors' money at interest, he was told that this was a practice allowed in other offices, and not objected to there. — Such was the way in which the public business was conducted in those days!

Hansard, xvii. 229.

Memoirs of Romilly, ii. 336.

The propositions thus made by liberal members, and contested by government, however good as far as they went, were not the large and generous measures of reform which the best men, in and out of parliament, wished to see at least introduced, and treated as worthy of discussion, while the popular uneasiness and discontent were growing from day to day. The members of the government, while boasting of national prosperity, and probably sincere in their boast, regarded such discontent as so much pure vice, and called it Jacobinism. We find one of them, a member of the Admiralty Board, complaining that "the country gentlemen, if not Jacobins, are at least reformers, and Utopian reformers;" while scarcely any of the public men of the time gave "the smallest weight to the Jacobinical spirit which was raging unrepressed." "There is scarcely a paper," he says, "in any little tradesman or labourer's hands of a Sunday that is not big with sedition."

Ward's Memoirs, i. 254.

Bullion Committee.

Meanwhile, something effectual was doing in a quiet way. While "Jacobins" were muttering or railing, and small improvements were talked over at great length in parliament, and expositions of the national condition were spread abroad in the newspapers, a knot of thoughtful men—a philosopher or two, some experienced merchants, and some clear-headed politicians—were sitting for 31 days between February and June, examining 29 witnesses, and consulting on the evidence procured about the monetary condition of the country, and its influence upon other conditions. This was the year of the celebrated Bullion Committee.

Francis Horner.

At the head of the philosophers concerned was Francis Horner, a lawyer who was not supposed a likely man to know or care much about currency matters. He cared much, because he had some

notion that the obscurity and unsettledness of the national fortunes were connected with monetary mismanagement: and as for knowing—he had the great advantage of being aware that, as yet, he knew nothing of the practical workings of the relation between the Bank and the nation. He came to the inquiry unprejudiced; while those who took their seats with minds full of notions knew in reality no more than he, as was presently proved to themselves by the evidence which came before them. "Hitherto," wrote Horner to Lord Grenville, at this time, "I have abstained from forming any conclusion, even in my own mind, respecting the causes of the present state of money prices; nor am I sure that I have yet gained a clear and exact notion of that change, whether depreciation or not, of which the cause remains to be ascertained." In this "suspense of opinion," he moved, on the 1st of February, for a variety of papers respecting the existing state of the circulating medium and the bullion trade. On the 19th of February, his Committee was appointed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was a member of it, of course: and we find besides, Mr. Huskisson, Sir Henry Parnell, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Abercromby; Mr. Baring, the merchant, and Mr. Thornton, the Bank Director. 1810. Memoirs, ii. 34.

The conclusions arrived at by these gentlemen were pronounced by themselves, in their private correspondence, very old: but they were as unacceptable to the government and to the Bank as any new theory could have been; so that we even find attempts made, a year after, to sound parliament about making bank notes a legal tender, in order to avoid the necessity of the Bank being brought back to cash payments. Mr. Horner and his comrades had, however, too deeply impressed parliament and the nation with the sense and knowledge of our monetary system being at that time essentially vicious to allow of any such fatal mistake being made: and if their compass of the subject was not entire, and if mischief has happened again, since the resumption of cash payments, we owe it to them that we have been in a condition to suffer occasionally, that we have had any thing to lose, that a national bankruptcy did not follow within a quarter of a century of the financial enterprises and expedients of Mr. Pitt. "The several successive steps," wrote Horner to Lord Grenville after the discussion of the Report, "which have been observed in every country that allowed its currency to fall into a state of depreciation, are coming upon us faster than was to have been expected in this country; and, as there will be no recovery after Bank notes are made a legal tender, the discussions which precede such a measure are evidently of the last importance." Ib., ii. 93.

The evils attending on an inconvertible paper currency were indeed coming upon the country faster than any body had expected. At the time when this Committee was sitting, a hundred pounds of paper would purchase only 86*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* of gold. The

1810. restriction laid on the Bank by government in 1797, forbidding it to make its payments in gold, was indisputably necessary at the time; and the continuance of the restriction through several subsequent years was excused by the extraordinary circumstance that invasion was expected from year to year. Now, at the end of thirteen years from the laying on of the restriction, the expectation of invasion had become a less evil than the operation of an inconvertible paper currency: and the present year particularly was so threatening, that the continuance of the restriction began to be freely canvassed elsewhere than in the Bullion Committee. Suddenly, on the calamitous fall of prices, and the check to speculation now occurring, the value of paper money sank from a previous steady depreciation of 2*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.* per cent. to that of 13*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* per cent. The number of country banks had been 280 when the restriction was laid on; and now it was more than doubled; affording a prospect of perpetual alternations of floods and dearth of money—of exultation and panic; unless indeed such consequences should be intercepted by a national bankruptcy. Those of us who were children in those days can never forget the incessant talk by the fireside about a probable national bankruptcy. It seemed, by the gravity of parents' faces, to be something very terrible that was expected: but children could not help thinking that there would be something very amusing in having no money, and every body being brought to a state of barter; and all, except landowners, having to begin the world again, and start fair. And then, there were speculations all abroad as to whether government would allow the Bank to resume cash payments; and whether the Bank could and would pay in cash. And Cobbett, then in the full flow of his political writing, announced that he would give himself up to be broiled upon a gridiron whenever the Bank should resume cash payments. Probably many hundreds of living men and women are conscious to this day of some association between a gridiron and paper and gold money—so familiar as they once were with the picture of Cobbett's gridiron as the heading of his Political Register.

The Report of the Bullion Committee was not in the hands of members till the middle of August, on account of the number of tables contained in the appendix: but enough of its contents got abroad, to afford some ground of hope to the sufferers under the commercial disasters of the summer. Its chief recommendation was to repeal the Restriction Act, and compel the Bank to return to cash payments, at the desire of the holder of notes, as soon as a due caution would permit. The circulation of notes of any kind under the value of 20*s.* had been prohibited in 1808: and it was now proposed that no notes under the value of 5*l.* should be permitted to circulate, after the use of gold and silver coin should have been completely re-established. Two years were thought by

Hansard, xvii. App. cclviii-cclxiii

the Committee time enough to prepare the Bank, and the public, for the change; and this was the period recommended. The alarm among the bankers and great merchants, excited by this recommendation, was such as sadly to increase the mischiefs of the existing panic; and, as we shall see, the resumption of cash payments did not take place in two years. At the end of four years, there were many who would have been thankful indeed if it could have been done: but the fluctuations, already so disastrous, were to become worse yet; till one should be so calamitous as to compel, and render comparatively easy, a return to cash payments in 1819. Whenever such a return should be attempted, the fearful penalty would remain of our having to pay in restored money the debts incurred in a depreciated currency; and how such a responsibility was to be met was a subject of anxiety, not only to the government but to every thoughtful citizen. The lapse of time, however, would not mend the matter, but make it worse. 1810.

The subject was talked over every where, till the time came for its discussion in parliament in the next May. On the 6th, Mr. Horner made his long-expected speech, and moved his sixteen resolutions, well knowing that they would be put down by a large government majority, but aware of the importance of distinctly impressing his views upon the House. Even he, who so well knew the interest of the subject, was surprised at the quiet and close attention paid by the House, not only to his speech, but to two very long debates, which occupied several nights. "Nothing, perhaps," he wrote to his father, "could prove more strongly that, however the votes have gone, from timidity, as well as from the usual motives that make majorities, there is a general persuasion that something of importance to every man's own private concerns, as well as the public interests, was involved in the question." The first debate lasted four nights, when his resolutions were lost by a majority of 76, in a house of 226 members. A division was taken, against the wishes of some of Mr. Horner's friends, on the last resolution, which proposed a return to cash payments in two years, rather than (as at present arranged) in six months from the conclusion of a peace. Forty-five voted in favour of the resolution; and it was thought to be so much gained, that forty-five stood pledged to the most extreme proposal of the report. Four days afterwards, the government, by the mouth of Mr. Vansittart, moved seventeen counter-resolutions, the third of which has since been, and will ever be, celebrated for its absurdity—that Bank notes "have hitherto been, and are at this time, held in public estimation to be equivalent to the legal coin of the realm, and generally accepted as such, in all pecuniary transactions to which such coin is lawfully applicable." It will never be forgotten that an English House of Commons voted bank notes to be equal to 1811. DEBATES. Hansard, xix. 799-830. Memoirs, ii. 86. Hansard, xx. 69.

1810. gold when a hundred pounds of them would purchase only 86*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* of gold. Out of the government of that day, however, came a man who, within ten years, restored us to a cash currency, and thereby made paper really of equal value with gold.

Those were days when the perils which hung over Europe, and threatened the national existence of the few unconquered foes of Napoleon, seemed to thrust aside all projects for the amelioration of society at home, which could be deferred to a time of peace. But some evils were becoming so flagrant that they would not wait. The increase of housebreaking was one of these; and of theft of every kind. Wise men saw that much of the evil was owing to the non-execution of the laws, and that the reason why the laws were not executed was the excessive severity of some of them. In the words of Romilly, crimes had become more frequent, offenders more daring and desperate, public morals more outraged, and the laws more despised, from year to year. Romilly brought in a Bill to repeal the barbarous Act which made it a capital offence to steal to the amount of 40*s.* in a dwelling-house. In a very thin House, 31 voted in favour of the Bill; and it was lost by a majority of two. Of the 33 who voted against it, 22 were men in office. When a Bill to abolish capital punishment for the offence of stealing to the value of 5*s.* in a shop was brought forward, in the Upper House, by Lord Holland, it was thrown out by a majority of 31 to 11; and the majority (anxiously summoned by Ministers to the division) included seven prelates: a fact memorable in the history of a Christian country. The repeal of a law, whose existence even now seems scarcely to be credible, was pronounced, by the teachers of the gospel of Christ, "too speculative to be safe." In the next session, the 40*s.* Bill passed the Commons, and with it some others repealing capital punishments in cases of small thefts—vigorous as was the opposition of the Prime Minister: but they were thrown out in the Lords. The seven prelates, and the hereditary legislators among whom they sat, were still deaf to the outcry of humanity, and blind to the evidences of social policy; so that pilferers were still hanged in long rows; the most hardy and dexterous villains were still abroad; and the shopkeepers and humble housekeepers of the kingdom continued to be victims, because they could not find in their hearts to get men hanged for stealing gown-pieces, and coals from a wherry, and the contents of the larder. A beginning had been made, however, in 1808, when Sir S. Romilly obtained the repeal of the capital punishment for stealing from the person to the value of 5*s.* And in 1811, the Lords abolished the death-penalty for stealing in bleaching-grounds, in consequence of the earnest petition of a large body of proprietors of bleaching-grounds. The argument of

Penal Law Reform.

Hansard, xvi. 780.

Ib., xvii. 200*.

Memoirs of Romilly, ii. 366.

the petitioners was, that "of late such offences had greatly increased;" and this was precisely the argument used by the Lords for rejecting three out of four of Sir Samuel Romilly's Acts of amelioration. 1810.

During this period of increasing crime, we observe symptoms of awakening to the condition of the Church. The wretched fortune of poor curates was mentioned in parliament; and once mentioned, it was not likely to be forgotten. No one could consider it defensible that rich livings should be held by absentee clergymen, while the curates who did the duty were paid too little to afford them bread. The most selfish of the aristocracy had of late — since the breaking out of the French Revolution — seen and avowed the importance of countenancing the religion of the country, and rendering the clergy respectable in the eyes of the people, as the best kind of political police. Higher-minded men saw better reasons for abating the scandal of the juxta-position of wealthy livings and a starving clergy: and by the great body of the people, the working clergy, who were their helpers and friends, were more regarded than the great men of the church, who were too far above them, or lived too far away, to command their sympathies. In 1808, the House of Lords decided in favour of an inquiry into the number of livings which exceeded 400*l.* a year, distinguishing those which were served by curates from those on which the incumbent was resident. And again, they addressed the King, to pray him to cause to be furnished an account of the number of livings under 150*l.* a year. The subject was still afloat when, in June of this year, 1810, Lord Holland objected to the grant of 100,000*l.* from the public money, for the relief of the poorer clergy, under the name of Queen Anne's Bounty. The relief proposed was a mere temporary almsgiving, on account of the excessive need of an impoverished clergy; and he thought it a scandal, tending much to the increase of dissent, that money should be taken out of the common purse, in a season of heavy taxation, while the spectacle was before the people's eyes of rich benefices, untouched where even no service was done. The objection, though unavailing in regard to the grant, brought out some honest opinions and manly avowals, as to the objectionable distribution of church property, affording hope of a reform at a future time. A curious incident occurred the next evening, when Lord Sidmouth, impressed with the rapid increase of dissent, and attributing much of it to a paucity of churches, moved for a return (which was granted) of the numbers and capacity of churches and dissenting chapels in parishes containing a population of 1,000 and upwards. His speech brought out, from Lord Holland, a remark about the luxury of the Church; and Lord Sidmouth's reply was that a church could not be called luxurious, which had 10,000 livings, out of which no less than 4,000 were under 150*l.* a year. It did not occur to him,

CONDITION OF THE CLERGY.

Annual Reg., 1808, p. 119.

Hansard, xvii. 761.

Ib., xvii. 771.

1810. well as he knew how great was the aggregate wealth of the Church, that if so many as 4,000 livings were too poor, many must be much too rich.

Dissenters' Licenses Bill.

Lord Sidmouth was at this time busy about his well-intended and unfortunate Bill to regulate the issue of preaching licenses to Dissenting Ministers, which created a prodigious ferment, the next year. There were omissions in the Toleration Act through which any person complying with certain forms could preach any where, whether he was of age or a minor, and however grossly ignorant. In the record of licenses kept for the county of Middlesex, the words "preacher," "gospel," and so on, were found misspelled in every conceivable way by applicants: in Staffordshire journeymen potters applied for licenses to preach, owning themselves no otherwise prepared for preaching than as they were instructed "by God and the Holy Ghost." Their application was refused; but the refusal was found to be illegal. For many months, Lord Sidmouth was aided and upheld in his work of preparation by the leading dissenting ministers of the kingdom, who felt as strongly as any churchman could do the evil of the work of religious instruction, and the guidance of religious worship, being allowed to pass into the hands of the ignorant, who were sure to be, in that case, also the presumptuous. But difficulties arose. The Methodists took the alarm first. They declared themselves not dissenters, and gave notice that they would not recognise the measure; which yet, however, was framed chiefly with a view to them. The most unreasonable fears arose and spread. It was feared that the measure would contract the Toleration Act, which it was intended to expand and confirm. It was feared that a revival of the Conventicle Act would follow upon it. Mr. Wilberforce and his sect dreaded interference with religious meetings in private houses. By the spring of 1811, the ferment had become wholly unmanageable. Nothing could have been finer than the demonstration made, if it had been in defence of religious liberty against any real danger; but the movement was characterized by one of the most eminent dissenting ministers of the time, Mr. Belsham, as one of "morbid sensibility."

Life of Lord Sidmouth, iii. 41, 43.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, iii. 61, 62.

The Premier wrote to Lord Sidmouth that he owned himself "seriously alarmed." Lord Liverpool wrote an entreaty to him to let the Dissenters alone while they kept themselves quiet, or it would occasion new trouble with the Catholics. But Lord Sidmouth would not give way. He brought forward his Bill on the 9th of May, 1811; when Lord Holland objected to it. He complained of the insolence of declaring persons to be unfit to preach religion because they were in an humble station in life; because they might, as Lord Sidmouth had said, have come down into the pulpit from the chimney or from the pillory; he objected to any dictation from any quarter as to who was and who was not to utter truth, or what seemed to him to be such, in his own way; and he

Hansard, xiv. 1132.

thought it better that a small number of unfit persons should enjoy the exemptions (such as from serving in the militia and on juries) granted to Dissenting Ministers, than that conflicts on the subject of religious liberty should be provoked, without any public solicitation from the Dissenters themselves. The further the opposition went, the more resolved was Lord Sidmouth to persevere, that he might not be misunderstood, but fairly put his measure on record. Some members of the Cabinet had an interview with him on the 21st, and remonstrated, and endeavoured to persuade—in vain. On that night, he moved the second reading; and the Bill was negatived without a division. In the following year, Lord Liverpool caused a relaxation of some of the statutes which affected the Dissenters, relieving them (among other burdens) from the necessity of taking the oaths, and making the declaration prescribed by the Toleration Act, only leaving their teachers and preachers liable to be called upon for such an observance by a justice of the peace, provided they were not required to go more than five miles from their own homes for the purpose.—Throughout the whole affair, which was prodigiously noisy at the time, the embarrassment was the same that attends all efforts to legislate, more or less, in relation to matters of opinion. If there had been no Toleration Act, and no recognition by law of differences in religion, Lord Holland's opposition to Lord Sidmouth's Bill would have been supported on every hand. But if the law practically assumed any power of intervention about religious teaching and preaching, it seems reasonable that it should insist, as in other cases of permitted function, that the functionary should not be a minor, or a convict, or unfit to teach because he had every thing to learn. And many years were yet to elapse before the Dissenters obtained that equality before the law which Lord Holland aided them to procure, and which could hardly have been postponed, or even discountenanced, by the passage of Lord Sidmouth's unfortunate Dissenters' Licenses Bill.

1810.

Hansard, xx. 255.

RELIEF TO DISSENTERS.

Every thing that passed in parliament, and perhaps out of it, in the spring of 1810, was of insignificant interest in comparison with the great struggle about parliamentary Privilege which was brought on at that time. The Bullion Committee, commercial disasters, the prospects of the harvest—every thing was made light of while men were watching the doings of Sir Francis Burdett, his partisans and his enemies. There is no liability so marked, among the dangers of patriotic citizens in our country, as that of insensibility to the danger of pressing hard upon the compromises of a constitution like that under which we live. It is not a constitution framed by design, every part of which is open to decision by every sort of mind. It is not one which Sir Francis Burdett could teach, like a mathematical problem, to the son standing at his knee. It is a structure which has risen and spread by gradual accretion, and is made serviceable by a series of accommodations. Many a sincere

PRIVILEGE QUESTION.

1810. patriot may have endangered the Constitution as much by straining a compromise as any Stuart could do by straining his prerogative. That prerogative includes a whole group of compromises; the connexion of the throne and the Church is another; the respective powers of parliament and the Law Courts are a third; and there are many more. When any of our constitutional compromises are so presumed upon by any party as to endanger broadly the rights of any other party, it becomes the duty of citizens to call the compromise to account—to bring it into discussion—to cause it to be thoroughly reviewed, in order to have it settled whether the compromise shall continue or be replaced by definite enactments. But such a search should be a very rare event; and he who insists upon the move should be very certain that some rights are invaded, or sure to be so, before he presses hard on the obscure and tender parts of the constitution. Such a man as Burdett was not likely to be thus cautious, or in any way sensible of the importance of what he was doing when he raised the struggle on the Privilege question in 1810. It may convey some idea of the bearings of the matter to contrast him and his blustering confidence with the modest and conscientious doubts of the philosophic lawyer, Francis Horner. While Burdett, whose sincerity there seems no reason to doubt, was parading the streets as a popular champion, and publishing libels, and denouncing all men as fools and corrupt who did not view the matter as he did, Horner was writing thus to Lord Holland: "I am ashamed to say that I am in a sea of difficulties and doubts about privilege; and what keeps me so long in uncertainty is, the confidence with which I hear both the opposite opinions maintained. ..... In such an emergency, when my oracles give discordant responses, I mean to try if I can form an opinion for myself."

Memoirs, ii. 39.

The case of which it was so difficult to judge arose thus.

On the 1st of February, when the inquiry about the Walcheren expedition was soon to come on in the House of Commons, Mr. Yorke gave notice that he should, on that occasion, move for the exclusion of strangers, in order that incomplete accounts of the evidence might not get abroad before the whole could be laid before the public. Mr. Sheridan, on the 6th, spoke in objection—not to the use of the power of exclusion by any member on proper occasion; but to declare his opinion, and call upon other members to declare theirs, that the approaching occasion was not a proper one. The House, thinking that each member must judge of each occasion for himself, voted with Mr. Yorke, leaving Mr. Sheridan in a small minority. As for the point of the publication of the minutes of evidence, that was settled by their being published every third day, through the whole course of the inquiry.

Hansard, xv. 345.

Among the debating societies which abounded at that time was one called the British Forum, which held its sittings in Bedford

Street, Covent Garden, and was presided over by an apothecary, whose name was John Gale Jones. The matter of the exclusion of strangers during the Walcheren investigation was discussed at this club; and Mr. Jones published the result in placards which were posted in all directions on the walls. The announcement was that the exclusion of strangers was an attack on the liberty of the press, which ought to be censured; and that the members of the British Forum would discuss on a certain evening the point, "Which was a greater outrage on the public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order to exclude strangers from the House of Commons, or Mr. Windham's recent attack on the liberty of the press."—Mr. Yorke having complained in the House of this placard, the printer, John Dean, was brought to the bar. Having given up the name of Mr. Jones as the writer, Dean was committed to the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, and Jones was ordered to attend the next day, February 21st. Jones declared that he had acted under the conviction that it was the right of every Englishman to comment on all public proceedings, and not from any disrespect towards the House of Commons: that, on looking over the placard again, he found he had erred; and that he threw himself on the mercy of the House. The House voted unanimously that he had been guilty of a gross breach of the privileges of parliament: and that he should be committed to Newgate. Dean was reprimanded and discharged, after sending in an humble petition for forgiveness; and the proceedings were entered in the Journals of the House.

1810.

Annual Reg., 1810, p. 92.

Hansard, xv. 501.

On the 12th of March, Sir Francis Burdett, who had been absent through illness, questioned the legality of the whole proceedings in regard to Jones. Mr. Sheridan moved for the release of Jones, on the ground of his contrition: but this could not be justified, as he had been committed after his expressions of contrition: and the vote was taken on the question of the legality of the proceedings. Thirteen members voted with Burdett, and 153 against him.—Burdett's next act was to write a "Letter to his constituents, denying the right of the House of Commons to imprison the people of England:" and this letter was published in Cobbett's Register on the 24th of March. It was indisputably libellous throughout. In appealing to Magna Charta, he contrasted "the laws of our forefathers" with the declarations of "a part of our fellow-subjects, collected together by means which it is not necessary to describe." Mr. Lethbridge brought the letter under the notice of the House. Burdett declared that he had never contemplated any breach of privilege; and that he would stand the issue. He withdrew, and Mr. Lethbridge moved two Resolutions declaring the Letter a scandalous libel, and that Sir Francis Burdett, in authorising its publication, had been guilty of a violation of the privileges of the House. After discussion and adjournments, the Resolutions

Ib., xvi. 14.

Ann. Reg., 1810, p. 99.

1810. were agreed to at half-past seven in the morning of Friday the 6th of April; and a vote was taken on the question whether Sir Francis Burdett should be reprimanded in his place, or committed to the Tower. His committal to the Tower was decided on by a majority of 38 in a House of 342 members.

Parliamentary Censure of Burdett. Hansard, xvi. 547.

The Speaker signed the warrant at half-past eight, that spring morning, and ordered its execution before ten o'clock. The Serjeant-at-Arms, however, was polite, and thought it desirable to give notice to the culprit; and it was five o'clock before he saw Sir Francis Burdett at his own residence. Sir Francis promised to be ready to receive him at eleven o'clock the next morning—Saturday. The Serjeant supposed this to mean that his prisoner would go quietly; and he left him. At eight o'clock, the Serjeant came again, and told his prisoner that he had received a severe reprimand from the Speaker for leaving the warrant unexecuted. Burdett replied that he had written to the Speaker to declare his disbelief of the legality of the warrant; and now he would not go, unless taken by force; and that he should make all possible resistance.—Meantime, a mob had gathered in Piccadilly, in front of Burdett's house. During the night, and all Saturday and Saturday night, the concourse remained and increased; and the Serjeant obtained no answer to his repeated knocks at the door. At seven on Sunday morning, he tried again; and in vain: and by this time it was evident that the capture could not be made without the aid of a formidable force. The merits of the question were not so clear but that Romilly had doubts. He stood almost alone, even among the Opposition, in his opinion that this was a case which should have been left to the ordinary tribunals, as the animadversions of Jones and Burdett were upon a matter already concluded, and therefore not censurable as impeding the proceedings of parliament. The dangerous power possessed by the House of making itself accuser, judge, and jury, however indispensable to meet cases where their proceedings were impeded from without, ought not, he thought, to be exercised in regard to comments on business concluded, while there were ordinary tribunals which could deal with libellers.—And now, on the Sunday, the Speaker was so uncertain what powers he possessed of enforcing his warrant, that he sent his warrant to the Attorney-General, and acted from that time on his opinion.

Ib., xvi. 477. 487.

Meantime, the matter had become very serious. On the Friday night, Mr. Perceval's windows had been broken, and Mr. Lethbridge's, and many others: and the mob in Piccadilly compelled every man who passed to take off his hat, and cry "Burdett for ever!" At noon on Saturday the Guards and a company of foot were sent to disperse the mob; and the Riot Act was read by a magistrate. The dispersion was brief; and in the evening, as the assemblage was larger than ever, the Ministers sent for troops from

all parts of the country. Already, several persons were wounded in the streets. By Monday morning, the authorities had made up their minds what to do. They decided that Burdett's house must be broken open, and that he must be carried to the Tower by force. The Serjeant had gone to the Secretary of State's office on Sunday night, and formally requested the necessary assistance. About ten on Monday morning, he went to Burdett's house, with a strong body of police, a carriage, and an escort of cavalry and foot soldiers. He entered, with the police, by the area and the kitchen door, which they forced. Leaving the soldiers below, he went up stairs with some police officers, to the room where Burdett was seated with his family and a few friends. Any dignity that might have been supposed to attend his resistance was dissolved at once by a piece of bad taste—of theatrical display—as miserable as the Westminster procession when his footstool was a sprawling figure of Venality. He was found sitting, with his son at his knee, to whom he was teaching the provisions of Magna Charta.— He again refused to yield to any thing short of actual force; and the constables were advancing to execute his apparent desire, when his brother and a friend at his side took hold each of an arm, and led him down to the carriage. The party were driven rapidly, by the northern parts of the city, and no opposition was made; but the military had to sustain severe ill usage on their return.—A great multitude rushed to Tower Hill; and when a cannon was fired, according to custom on the reception of a state-prisoner, the rumour was spread that the Tower guns were firing upon the people. The rage among the populace was as fierce as might be expected; and the soldiers had to fight their way from the entrance of East Cheap to London Bridge. It was some time before they fired; but when they did, two or three people were killed, and many wounded.

1810.

Ann. Reg., 1810, p. 105.

COMMITMENT OF BURDETT TO THE TOWER.

Sir Samuel Romilly had given notice of a motion for that evening, for the release of Jones; but the irritation of the time was so great that he consented to put it off. The Speaker had no such choice. He was obliged to read to the House the letter he had received from Burdett. It was a piece of vulgar insolence, clearly intended to provoke his expulsion from the House. As it was certain, however, that Westminster would re-elect him by acclamation, he was not gratified by any proceedings being taken on his letter. As he was already in prison for breach of privilege, this new breach was passed over.

Hansard, xvi. 550.

Day by day tempers grew worse, on each side. Burdett brought actions at law against the Speaker, the Serjeant-at-Arms, and Lord Moira, in whose custody he now was. When Romilly moved, on the 16th, for the release of Jones, on the ground that the man had suffered enough, the House seemed disposed to agree; but the Ministers would not permit the release, without new humilia-

1810. tions on the part of the culprit. The next day, the inhabitants of Westminster sent in a petition and remonstrance so affronting in its language, that it was a mortification to the House to have it entered on their Journals—which was a consequence of its being ordered to lie on the table. A petition from the Livery of London, received on the 8th of May, was hardly, if it all, more disrespectful than the Westminster one; but it was rejected by the House. A petition from the freeholders of Middlesex was treated in like manner. Burdett was very far from rejecting the addresses sent to him. The newspapers were full of accounts of them, and of reports of the prisoner's replies. His vanity was now in all its glory. The state of men's passions at that time is shown by the mistakes made about Sir Samuel Romilly's part in the affair. Because he thought the libels in question a business for the ordinary courts to settle, rather than parliament, both parties jumped to the conclusion that he was a partisan of Burdett's. It was so reported, in and out of the newspapers, that Burdett's resistance was under his advice, and that he had visited the baronet frequently during the days of siege, that he was compelled to explain in the House that he had had no communication whatever, direct or indirect, with Burdett, and that he had never been in his house in his life. And now, on the 10th of May, Burdett's solicitor offered him retainers in the three actions he had brought against his captors. It could hardly have been seriously supposed that any member of parliament would appear in this cause.

Hansard, xvi. 727.

Ib., xvi. 885.

Ib., xvi. 549.

Memoirs, ii. 320.

Question of Pleading.

And now the grand difficulty of all had to be dealt with: the question whether parliament should make any appearance at all in the Law Courts. It was decided that the Speaker and the Serjeant-at-Arms should be allowed to plead. The Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the privileges of the House was so incorrect that it had to be recommitted. The members had gone out of their beat, so far even as to quote the opinion of the peers, as ascertained in a conference. The House refused to receive this opinion; and yet, as it curiously happened, the Lords had, after all, to decide a question of the privileges of the Commons —Burdett's actions being carried before them by a writ of error. There seemed to be no end of the perplexities and contradictions, and unmanageable difficulties of the case; as always happens when there is a strain upon the compromises of the Constitution. What the House had desired in appointing the Committee was that, by means of materials furnished by the Journals, the privilege of parliament should be accurately defined—the questions of its application and applicability remaining, of course, for consideration in each case as it arose: but, instead of this, the Committee quoted the opinions of the peers, and gave their own notions of the powers of the Law Courts; and thus their labours did not help on this vexed question. Meanwhile, the public bodies which had complimented

Burdett and scolded the House of Commons, began to send addresses of thanks to Romilly, Lord Erskine, and Mr. Whitbread; and there was hardly any gathering of men, however small, in which the privilege question was not argued. Lord Erskine had the honour of meeting the Prince of Wales at dinner one day, when the argument on the subject grew hot between them. Lord Erskine said that the principles he advocated were those which had seated the family of his Royal Highness on the throne; and the Prince retorted, that they were principles which would unseat any family from any throne. 1810. Memoirs of Horner, ii. 47.

BURDETT'S RELEASE.

The affair came to an end by the natural opportunity of the prorogation of parliament on the 21st of June. For some days before preparations were made by Burdett's friends for such a triumphal procession as had been seldom seen. Placards on the walls announced the order of the pageantry; and caricatures at the print-shops represented the emerging of the sun of patriotism from the east. John Bull, in an ecstacy of enjoyment, was basking on a bed of roses, while Burdett shone on him from the morning sky. In the summer dawn of the great day, the tread of many feet was heard in the streets. By the afternoon, the whole road from the Tower to Burdett's house in Piccadilly was a close-packed crowd; and the windows and roofs of all the houses were peopled with watchers. Scaffoldings in Piccadilly, waggons and carts wherever they could be put, were all covered with people; and the greater number wore blue cockades. Blue silk pennons waved from the windows; and blue flags were carried about the streets, and made to float before the faces of the immoveable cavalry who were posted here and there. Three hundred horsemen were waiting outside the Tower from two o'clock; and very tired they were of waiting when the mortifying catastrophe was made known.—About four o'clock, a soldier on the ramparts put a speaking-trumpet to his mouth; and the faces on Tower Hill turned towards him. He repeated a few words several times; but those who heard did not believe him. What he said was, "He is gone by water." This was not a thing to be believed; and no attention was paid to it. Presently one of the constables told the people near him that Burdett had been gone some time; but he was rebuked for saying such a thing, just to get the people to go away. At half-past four, three placards were hung out over the gates of the Tower, inscribed, "Sir Francis Burdett left the Tower by water, at half-past three o'clock."—The committee, at first confounded, rallied their spirits, and resolved to have the procession, though they must dispense with the hero. Many went home, many at distant points could not be made to understand; but others joined, and the procession was an imposing one. Burdett's phaeton was empty; but Jones was on the roof of a hackney coach, haranguing the crowd very actively, but amidst too much Ann. Reg., 1810, p. 112.

1810. noise to be heard. He had been ejected from prison by stratagem, after declaring that he would never go out spontaneously; and he was now vehemently complaining of being made a free man against his will.—The crowd was nearly dispersed by ten o'clock; but those in Piccadilly would not go till the neighbours had illuminated; and soon, nearly all London was shining out at the windows.

Sir Francis Burdett never fully recovered his position after this day. His more violent partisans despised what they called his cowardice; and more reasonable men complained of his inconsistency. He could not be expected to join the procession after frequent warnings that lives might again be lost in the streets: but he should have known his own mind sooner, and have forbidden the procession. Those who most readily gave him credit for a sincere abhorrence of injustice, and a genuine instinct for popular rights, and who were willing to excuse the vanity which lowered the patriotism, saw from this day that he was not to be relied on for consistency and resolution. A man who had provoked the contest with parliament, and ventured the overthrow of public order, and who ended by slinking home in a boat, leaving his army of admirers waiting for him in the streets, was no hero: and no future efforts to re-establish him as a hero were of any avail. Though many persevered for some time in denying it, his day was over. The sun was not punctual. While people were gazing eastwards for it in vain, it was already fast sinking into the west. John Bull looked grave, gathered himself up from his bed of roses, and went home grumbling.

During the whole of this session, it was suspected that the ministry was in a very unsettled state: and we now know that they felt themselves so weak that they struggled on with a difficulty which perhaps some clear-sighted men might have inferred from the positiveness, hardness, and insolence, of the Premier's tone. Mr. Perceval's tone was so excessively peremptory at times, that wise observers might reasonably suppose that there was misgiving and fear within.—Lord Mulgrave succeeded Lord Chatham in May, as has been said; and there were shiftings of office among those already in the government. In April, the Premier had endeavoured to fortify himself by bringing in Lords Sidmouth and Castlereagh, both valuable for their command of votes; and Mr. Canning, inestimable for his ability. None of them thought that Canning would come in; but they might as well try. The answer was an instant refusal; and so was Lord Sidmouth's, in case of Canning's acceptance. He was open to solicitation, however, if Canning declined: and he was kept waiting till the 12th of June, when Lord Wellesley called on him with renewed proposals. The difficulty was that Lord Wellesley would not agree to any irrevocable exclusion of his friend Canning. In July, the Premier went himself to Lord Sidmouth, with no better success. The two gen-

Weakness of the Government.

Life, iii 26.

tlemen could only sigh over the fidelity of Lord Wellesley to his friend. In September, there was some idea of letting Lord Wellesley go; but this could not be ventured: and then, of inducing Canning and Castlereagh to come in together. Castlereagh was applied to first; and his refusal was so positive, that nothing more could be done; and the Cabinet must hold on as it could till some change should take place of itself. "So ends our negotiation," wrote Mr. Perceval to Lord Eldon: "and the consequence, I trust, will be, that we shall all be determined to do the best we can to stand firmly and unitedly by ourselves, when we find we cannot mend matters." Helpless as the Cabinet would have been without Lord Wellesley, there were several there who would have been delighted to be rid of him; for they found him very troublesome. He was for ever, by his knowledge, checking their ignorant expectations about Spain; and he never ceased to claim for his "brother Arthur" justice in the conditions under which he was to carry on the war in Spain. It was troublesome to be rebuked for expecting victories when the general was left unsupplied with men, money, stores, authority abroad, and influence at home; with every thing essential to the successful prosecution of the war. Lord Wellesley would not relax in his assertion of his brother's needs and claims; and so, the underlings of the government agreed that he was a very disappointing person for so great a man; and that his discontents must be owing to literary jealousy. When he spoke in the Lords, he must have every thing *ad unguem;* and would not rise and speak unless he was thus carefully prepared. As might be expected, his written communications were industriously finished. It so happened that the other leading members of the Cabinet were remarkably bad writers. Among gentlemen, it would hardly be possible to find worse: yet they altered and amended Lord Wellesley's productions to such a degree that, as he told a friend, "he had thought he was among a cabinet of statesmen; but he found them a set of critics." The underlings got hold of this; and they settled, to their own satisfaction, that literary jealousy was the reason why Lord Wellesley did not work smoothly with the Eldons and the Percevals of the government. To take in Castlereagh without Canning was not thought of for a moment. It was not only that the Premier knew he must lose Lord Wellesley in such a case; but, as he told an adherent, Lord Castlereagh's unpopularity was so great, notwithstanding some considerable talent, and very conciliatory manners, that his junction, unaccompanied by his rival, would be purely detrimental to the government. For long afterwards, Lord Castlereagh's aid was thought and called "a mere acquisition of weakness." No present opening appeared for either of the late Cabinet duellists, as they would not come in together.

1810.

Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 126.

Ward's Memoirs, i. 317.

Ib., 429.

Ib., 290. 421.

Meantime, a leading man was gone from the ranks of their

DEATH OF WINDHAM.

1810. opponents; a chief member of the Grenville Opposition party. In helping to save the books of a friend whose house was burning, Mr. Windham had, a year before, received a blow on the hip which he thought of little importance: but it cost him his life. In May he was condemned to an operation, as the only chance of recovery: on the 17th, after every preparation of mind and affairs that a brave and careful man could make, he put himself into the hands of the surgeons. On the 4th of June, he sank under the consequences of the operation, which could not possibly have availed. He was sixty years of age. In the midst of the general regret for the loss of the most accomplished gentleman, perhaps, then in the House of Commons, and a man of many noble intellectual and moral qualities, no one undertook to say that the country had sustained a political loss. "Windham," it was once said, "is certainly a drawback upon the value of any Ministry, unless he can be kept in order." This "keeping in order," however, was just what could never be done, either by himself or others: and it was not only the Ministry he belonged to that suffered by his perverseness. The whole people suffered when such a man as Windham put forth his great powers in opposition to popular education, and the mitigation of our penal laws. Mackintosh declared him a man of a very high order, spoiled by faults apparently small. But such a love of paradox as made Windham the perverse man he was is, and ought to be considered, one of the gravest of faults that can be harboured by the kind of mind which is capable of harbouring it at all. The habit of tampering with truth in speculative matters, and of dealing with facts in a spirit of prejudice, must be constantly weakening the foundations of thought and action, and vitiating the whole structure of opinion and practice. This consequence of his perverseness had gone far enough in Mr. Windham's case, to make his opinions of little value, except to those who found it convenient to quote them. He could gratify some and annoy others (defying all conjecture as to whom he was about to gratify or annoy), but no one thought of being convinced by him. This was remarkable in regard to a man famed, above every thing, for his logical powers: and it was remarkable that, with those logical powers, he should have so frequently arrived at wrong conclusions. Like other men of a paradoxical habit of mind, he failed to carry his high sense of honour into his relations with truth. There he was slippery and unfaithful, while without blemish, and above suspicion, in what he considered more practical transactions: as if any thing could be so comprehensively practical as a statesman's relations with the principles of things. All this was from no deficiency of knowledge as to those principles. As Mackintosh pointed out, he had become accustomed to those which were established among men of speculation, and his mind was roused to combat them before they were brought under po-

Life of Wilberforce, iii. 432.

Memoirs, ii. 60.

pular notice; and in opposing them, he opposed what was to him established when to the many he seemed to be contending against innovations. Hence his defence of what was worn out, which at once perplexed and delighted the Eldons and Percevals and Malmesburys, who found in him an occasional ally; a support never to be reckoned on, but often most welcome. He was a man of genius, a wit, a scholar; but no philosopher. His manners were full of charm; and his conversation as rich and delightful as it was often provoking. He was sure to be remembered with admiration, and with as much regret as follows upon high admiration when its object is gone; but it was not possible that he should be practically missed from the ranks of statesmanship. During his last illness, there was a crowd of inquirers before his door; and his death was the great public event of the day. His praise was in the mouth of all who loved exquisite oratory, and benevolence of heart, and high grace of mind and manners; but, if the truth were known, perhaps no one in parliament or in the Privy Council ever wished him back again. He was buried where he was born, at the family seat at Felbrigg in Norfolk. 1810.

In the autumn, a difficulty was on the increase, from day to day, with which the feeble Ministry knew that they must soon deal in some decisive manner. The failure of the Walcheren expedition, and the disgrace of his courtly favourite, Lord Chatham, had so disturbed the King's mind, that he lost his sleep, and his cheerfulness, and such composure as had been obtained by extreme care. A family affliction now, once more, overthrew his reason. The youngest of the Princesses, Amelia, had, for many years, been in bad health, and her disease was known to be unconquerable. It was understood that there were family secrets in connexion with her which, in consideration for his tottering intellect and vehement self-will, had been kept from his knowledge; and the moment for imparting them was that in which he must take leave of his favourite child. Parliament was to have met on the 1st of November; but, before that time, it was publicly known that the circumstances of the royal family would compel its prorogation to the 29th. Meantime, the King had become wholly unfit to affix his signature to the Commission who were to prorogue the Parliament. The parting interview had quite overthrown him; and it was a piteous spectacle to those present, when the blind and feeble old man was led to the bedside, and his child took his hand, and put on his finger a ring with a memorial inscription, whose purport his heart could read, though his eyes could not. The Ministers, in profound secrecy, summoned their supporters, and hoped, by silence as to what they meant to do, to avoid bringing Opposition members up to town: and in this they succeeded.

DEATH OF THE PRINCESS AMELIA.

INSANITY OF THE KING.

On the 1st of November. the Lord Chancellor informed the Upper House that there was no Royal Speech or Message, and no

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

1810. Commission to open Parliament. The King was ill; but likely to be soon better. It was a question whether, under the circumstances, a Commission would not have been legal if issued under the Great Seal, without the sign manual; but he had not assumed the responsibility of proceeding upon any mere opinion on this point. He preferred laying the matter before Parliament for its decision. In the Commons, the Speaker addressed the hundred members present, saying that, in the absence of any Royal Message or Commission, he had thought it his duty to take the chair, in order that the House might adjourn itself. The Ministers, in both Houses, anxiously explained that the King's illness was mild in character, and that he had obtained some sleep: so that the physicians had confident hopes of a speedy recovery. Both Houses adjourned to the 15th. The Princess died the next day, at a time when her father was so composed that the physicians decided to tell him the news at once. They told him they were going to try his Majesty's piety. He replied that he knew what they meant; that Amelia was dead. He rambled and was very low, but was not indifferent; which was a good sign: and he mentioned her again; which was another: and the physicians were more sanguine than before about his recovery. But he never was rational again. The last heavy cloud was settling down upon his intellect. There was, however, a suspense of weeks and months, equally embarrassing to the Ministers and to Parliament. It was difficult to extract from the constitution any guidance in circumstances so singular; and it was a formidable matter to establish precedents for conducting the monarchy without a monarch. On the question of repeated adjournments, the Opposition were divided; and without any ill-feeling among themselves. It was enough, in a case so unusual, to indicate that there was vigilance against dangerous precedents. That vigilance indicated, men voted according to their expectations of the King's recovery or continued insanity. On the 15th, the Houses adjourned to the 29th: and on the 29th, when a report from the physicians, decidedly favourable, was offered, in the form of a report from the Privy Council, a considerable majority decided for another adjournment to the 13th of December. When that day arrived, the Ministers acknowledged that they had no plea for further delay in discussing how the country was to be governed. A committee was appointed to examine the physicians. Their report was delivered on the 20th. There was nothing in it to delay the pressing business of providing for the carrying on of the government.

Hansard, xviii. 1.

Ib. xviii. 3.

Repeated Adjournments.

Ward's Memoirs, i. 298.

Hansard, xviii. 78.

Ib., xviii. 120.

On the same day, therefore, Mr. Perceval proposed and carried three Resolutions, which declared, 1st, that the King was prevented by illness from fulfilling his royal functions: 2nd, that it was the duty of the Lords and Commons to supply the existing defect in the organisation of the government: and, 3rd, that the Lords and

Ib., xviii. 329.

Commons should determine on means for giving the necessary assent to bills respecting the powers to be exercised in the King's name and behalf during his illness. These Resolutions were almost in the same words as those which had been brought forward by Mr. Pitt, and passed (with the aid of Lord Grenville, among others) in 1788. They were therefore sure to pass now, however eager the Opposition might be to bring the Prince of Wales into full power, and the Ministry to keep him out to the last moment. On the 27th, the Resolutions were discussed in the Lords, and the two first were passed without a division. Lord Holland moved an amendment on the third, to the effect that the Prince of Wales should be requested, by address, to assume the powers and functions of the Crown, in the King's name, during the King's present indisposition, and no longer; an intimation being given, with the Address, that it would be necessary to forbear all but strictly necessary state action, till the Legislature should have settled how all beyond it should be provided for. This amendment was negatived; and the Resolutions being thus agreed upon, the Ministers went on to follow the precedent of 1788, in regard to the next step; which was to define the powers to be exercised by the Regent.

1810.

PROPOSITION OF A REGENCY.

Hansard, xviii. 417.

The proposals of the Ministers, as to the restriction of the powers of the Regent, were so unacceptable to the Prince of Wales, that he exerted himself to the utmost — even to the point of assembling his brothers to sign a Protest — to overthrow the propositions prepared for parliamentary discussion. The Protest was sent to Mr. Perceval, and found among the papers of Lord Eldon. It was dated midnight of the 19th of December: but the subject to which it referred did not come into debate till the new year had opened; and it is best to close here the records of the gloomy year 1810, whose disasters seemed but too likely to overcloud many a year yet to come.

THE PRINCES' PROTEST.

Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 136.

CHAPTER IV.

1811-12. THE opposite views and interests of the Ministerial and the Grenville parties on the Regency question are obvious enough, and seen in a moment to be unavoidable. The ministers confidently hoped for the King's speedy recovery; and their object was to give as little power as possible, during the short fixed period of the regency, to one whom they regarded as their personal foe, and the friend of their political opponents. The Opposition leaders expected to return to power under the Prince, and hoped to rescue the country from the miserable misgovernment under which it was sinking to ruin. They were aware that the tie between the Prince and themselves had long been loosening: they remembered that, since the death of Fox, there had been little personal intercourse, and that the Prince had avowed his intention of ceasing to interest himself personally in politics—of ceasing to be, as he said, "a party man." It is probable that they also knew that he had thought himself neglected and coldly treated by the Grenville ministry, and not sufficiently consulted about the measure which caused their overthrow. Still, he was so well aware of the bad qualities of the present ministry, and so much more connected with the Grenvilles and the Greys than with any other section of the political world, that no one had any doubt whatever that the Grenville and Grey ministry would be in power at the earliest moment that the change could be decently made. The Prince himself certainly intended this at the opening of the year; and a list of the proposed administration was put into the hands of his intended ministers, for their consideration.

Life of Sheridan, ii. 384.

Memoirs of Romilly, ii. 359.

But the interposition of the royal family in favour of the Prince, as against the Perceval ministry, perplexed the affair, and not only made Lord Eldon excessively miserable, but embarrassed the braver and less selfish men with whom he was connected. They suddenly found themselves left, at the critical moment, with only the Queen on their side—all her sons having gone over to the enemy on the great subject of the power to be given to the Regent. "I am hardly in my right mind upon what is passing," wrote Lord Eldon to his brother, in this January: "and when I am attacked, day by day, and every man who was with me in administration in 1804 is obstinately holding silence, and the whole royal family, whose pro-

Life, ii. 161.

testations of gratitude my boxes teem with, are among my enemies, God help me if I had not the means of proving that I have nothing to fear." The midnight protest of the Princes, enclosed to Lord Eldon by the Duke of Cumberland with "the greatest regret," must have caused consternation to the devoted friend of their father, declaring, as it did, that the proposed restrictions on the Regent were "perfectly unconstitutional," and "subversive of the principles that seated their family on the throne of these realms." 1811-12. Life, ii. 136.

The proposed Restrictions were these. The term of the regency was to be limited to the 1st of February, 1812, supposing parliament to have been sitting for six weeks previously. The Regent was to consider his office a trust, and to conform to the statutes which regulate trusts. He was restrained from granting peerages (except for naval or military achievements), or offices or titles in reversion or abeyance. The Royal property was to be vested in trustees, for the King's benefit. The care of the King's person was to be confided to the Queen, who was to arrange his household: a Council being appointed to advise and assist her in her duties, with authority to examine the King's physicians. There were many, besides the Princes, who objected to the power being given to the Queen and her Council of deciding when the King should resume his functions, in case of recovery: and, after much discussion, safeguards against abuse were provided by an obligation to communicate the state of the King's health to the Privy Council, and thence to the "London Gazette." On this point, the Ministers were beaten in several divisions; and it was clear that they were tottering in their seats at the time that the Regency Bill passed, which was on the 5th of February. On the next day, the Royal Assent was (by a necessary fiction) given by a Commission acting under the authority of both Houses of Parliament. The Prince took the oaths on the same day before the Privy Council, when some close observers were amused with watching the various expressions in the different countenances. And by this time, there was reason for much conflicting feeling.

RESTRICTIONS ON THE REGENT. Hansard, xviii. 1126-1144.

Ib., xviii. 1125.

Early in January, the Prince sent for Lord Grenville, and requested, with every appearance of graciousness and confidence, that he and Lord Grey should draw up for him a reply to the Address which the two Houses were about to present. He proposed that his friend, Lord Moira, should be joined with them in the task; but this proposal the Whig Lords declined. The task was a difficult one, because Lord Grenville stood pledged, by the records of previous regency debates, to opinions widely different from those of the Prince and Lord Grey. The points of difference were passed over with vague phrases, and the paper was sent to the Prince through Mr. Adam, in whose presence he read it. He "strongly objected to almost every part of it," made some curt marginal notes, and sent for his boon companion, Sheridan. There was no time to be

NEGOTIATION WITH LORDS GRENVILLE AND GREY. Life of Sheridan, ii. 385.

1811-12. lost, as the Addresses were to be presented the next day. Sheridan proposed that a new Reply should be drawn up; and he and the Prince set about it. At night, Sheridan met Lord Grey at Holland House, and the new paper was read, shown, with its offensive marginal notes, and warmly discussed. The Prince adhered to it: and on the following day, Lords Grenville and Grey transmitted to the Prince an indignant remonstrance on his levity in this affair, and on the affront they had received. Sheridan used his influence to reconcile the Prince to himself, and his wit in writing epigrams and quizzes on the dignified personages who had assumed a tone of dictation to the Regent. As might be expected, the alienation of the Prince from his former political friends was decided; and the new hope of a better government of the country was extinguished.

Memoirs of Romilly, ii. 360.

One of King's physicians had meantime been working on the mind of the Prince. After having for some weeks led the Prince to believe that the King could never recover, he now gave him exaggerated accounts of the improvement in health of which the newspapers were beginning to speak; and he intimated that if, on recovery, the King should hear of a change of Ministry, he might probably die of the news. An artful letter of flattery and coaxing was also sent by the Queen, communicating sayings of the King, which she could not have really known, as she had not seen him. The Prince acutely conjectured this letter to be Perceval's, as the lawyer-like word "pending" appeared in it—a word which the Queen was the last person likely to use. It produced upon him, however, an effect which concurred but too well with his existing feeling towards Lords Grenville and Grey: and on the 1st of February, he announced to Lord Grenville, by letter, his decision to leave the Ministry substantially unchanged. The next day, the leading Whigs waited upon him at Carlton House, and found that he was indeed determined. The streets were full of people, anxious to hear the latest reports of the King's health, on which mainly the important decision was supposed to hang; and clusters of Opposition members were on the pavement, questioning their acquaintance as they left Carlton House. On the 5th, after taking the oaths, the Regent wrote to Mr. Perceval, to say what every body was expecting. He said it in an ungracious manner, as every body but Mr. Perceval thought: but he was too well pleased to admit any uncomfortable feelings. He, as his friend Ward tells us, "was not of that opinion," though the wording of the announcement was this: "The irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father leads him" (the Prince) "to dread that any act of the Regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his sovereign's recovery, and that this consideration *alone* dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval." No assurances of

Ward's Memoirs, i. 377.

The Ministry unchanged.

Ann. Reg., 1811, p. 8.

physicians had nearly so much effect in preparing the public *to* expect the King's recovery as this letter; for, as every body said, the Prince could not so ill discharge his new duty as to retain in power a Ministry which he thought bad for the country, if he believed that he had really time and power to change it. Among those who were not disposed to acquiesce in the Regent's decision were the civic officers of the metropolis. They went home discontented, and soon presented to his Royal Highness, by the hands of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, an Address of great boldness, in which were set forth the miseries resulting from the misgovernment of the country, the popular discontent at the conduct of Ministers in carrying on the government in the King's name, when he was incapacitated, and at the restrictions laid on the Regent, and the absolute need of reform of parliament, in order to rescue the people from ruin. In his reply, the Prince prudently dwelt, to the exclusion of almost every thing else, on the joy he should feel in the act of rendering up his office to the King, on the blessed occasion of his Majesty's recovery. 1811-12. Annual Reg., 1811, p. 11.

It was rumoured, at the time, that when Sheridan went to Lord Holland's, in Pall Mall, to discuss the rival replies, the Prince stole thither too, disguised in a large cloak. It was said that Mr. Peel saw him issue from the gates of Carlton House, and, recognising him, observed him till he entered Holland House. It was also said that the Prince then again offered the government to the offended lords; and that it was the representation of the physician before alluded to which held them back: and this seems to be confirmed by the clear declaration of the 'Morning Chronicle,' that they might have had office if they would. It is certain that the Prince declared openly that he would never see the Ministers he was compelled to retain. He would dine with his old comrades, but never with his Ministers; and, whatever any body might say, he would have Sheridan, and Adam, and Lord Moira, and other Whigs, about him to consult with, under any circumstances. Of course, he was told that this would be impossible; and of course, the contradiction roused his self-will. He was, however, as feeble and fickle as he was self-willed. In a few months we find the Queen and Lord Eldon congratulating each other and the world on the Prince having succeeded to the government, under circumstances which enabled him to detect "the horrible falsehoods with which wicked politicians had filled his mind;" and, as the Queen expressed it, which enabled her son George to learn that his poor father knew better who were his son's best friends than that son himself did. "At present," wrote Lord Eldon at that time, "many, I believe, think he is too much attached to me." He certainly was; and there was little to be hoped from a man who, at fifty, could turn from a Grenville and a Grey to enjoy the flattery of an Eldon, and permit the cant which called the best Life of Canning, p. 284. Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 245.

1811-12. friends of his life, and men whose honour was too lofty to bend at the most critical moment of their career, "wicked politicians."

There was now an end of the irregularities and fictions in the carrying on of the government, which all deplored as dangerous and perplexing, but which could not, by any means, be helped. There was a vast deal of debate, and very properly, about each irregularity and fiction as it arose; but every thing was settled at last; and the cases in dispute are sufficiently recorded in the chronicles of the time. It is enough to say that there was difficulty about calling parliament together, at first; and then about appointing a royal commission; and then about the method of drawing money for appropriations voted in the preceding session—the auditors declining to justify accounts and draw money, without full assurance of the legality of their proceedings; and then, Parliament hesitating before the unconstitutional act of assuming executive power. Then, when the conditions of the regency were determined, it was necessary to open parliament in form, by a commission under the Great Seal, sanctioned by the authority of that very parliament which was supposed not to have been sitting: and lastly, when the Regency Bill was passed by the two Houses, it received a nominal Royal Assent from the very personage whose incapacity to assent was the ground of the Bill. Every body was glad when these solemn shams were over, and when parliament was, for the third time, opened in regular form, on the 12th of February. The Regent did not go down in person, but by Commission; and the Speech was, as nearly as possible, what it would have been if sent down by his father. The universal remark was, that these were clear indications of his being on bad terms with the Ministers. He intended to be a mere mechanical Regent, at least for the short original term of the regency.

Proper Opening of Parliament. Hansard, xviii. 1140.

The King's Health.

He relaxed from his moodiness as the year went on: and before it was half over, the conviction was general that his office would last as long as the life of the King. In May, the people in the streets supposed that the King was getting better, as he appeared on horseback with his daughters. After some rumours, the fact was made known in Windsor that one of the equerries had ordered the King's saddle horse to be got ready; and the multitude who flocked to the Castle saw the favourite horse Adonis actually brought out. The King presently appeared, conversing cheerfully with two of the princesses, mounted his horse with ease, and rode for more than an hour, without any appearance of eccentricity. But at that very time, the Duke of York was writing to Lord Eldon of the imbecility into which his father appeared to be sinking. His talk was hopelessly rambling and frivolous. In July, the bulletin of the physicians declared his general health to be much strengthened, without any corresponding improvement in his mind. The physicians declared that they did not yet despair

Annual Reg., 1811, Chron. 57.

Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 174.

of his ultimate recovery; but before the expiration of the term of the regency, they had nearly dropped the subject of their hopes. He understood that the Duke of York had been reinstated in his office of Commander-in-Chief, and rejoiced in it: and he was aware of the regal fête given by the Regent in June, in lieu of the ordinary festival of the King's birthday; but, while these events excited his feelings, they brought out no evidence of improving reason. He must henceforth be considered as excluded from Court affairs; and the Court proceeded on that understanding. 1811-12.

THE COURT.

The Regent's fête, given on the plea of encouraging British manufactures at a time of appalling distress, was declared to be the most splendid ever seen in England; and its splendour did more harm to the feelings of the starving poor than good by the small consequent reduction of the manufacturers' stock. It was made a sort of demonstration against Napoleon by Louis XVIII. and the French Princes being brought to it, out of their retirement: but the people would have preferred an opposite kind of action—the repeal of the Orders in Council, to which much of their distress was owing. When, on the expiration of the first term of the regency, the Prince desired to have Lord Sidmouth in his Cabinet, as President of the Council, Lord Sidmouth made it a positive stipulation that the Orders should be suspended; and, as will soon appear, for sufficient reason. This was done, as regarded the United States, in June, 1812, too late to prevent war with America, but with the immediate effect of raising the spirits of a population whose sufferings had passed the limit of endurance. Before that time, the Queen had once more held a Court, after an interval of nearly two years; and the thronging of ladies to St. James's was a signal that the recovery of the King was no longer to be hoped for. Another such signal was the provision made for the Princesses by parliament in April, 1812. They were endowed with 36,000*l.* a year by the nation, as their father could no longer take care of them. The King had been empowered to grant 30,000*l.* a year to the four daughters living with him. In a time of excessive distress, Mr. Perceval asked for 36,000*l.* for three who survived. He obtained it; but at a cost of strong popular displeasure. And, while he was thus recklessly profuse to royal ladies, the cause of liberty and security throughout the world was perilled by the withholding of support from the army in Spain; as we shall hereafter see.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, iii. 85.

Hansard, xxii. 450.

MORE OVERTURES.

As the year 1811 drew towards its close, the nation looked anxiously for the disclosure of what the Regent meant to do about a Ministry, on occasion of the prolongation of his power. The Regent himself regarded "the present extraordinary crisis" as "a new era" in his life. He said so in a letter to the Duke of York, which he empowered the Duke to show to Lord Grey, and which immediately became public. In this letter, he largely

Annual Reg. 1812, p. 329.

1811-12. praised his present Ministers, but expressed his desire that some of those persons among whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his hands, and constitute a part of his government. Lords Grenville and Grey replied, that their opinions remained unchanged, as to the absolute necessity of conciliating Ireland by the repeal of the Catholic disabilities; and that their first duty in office would be to propose a measure to that effect. As the existing Ministry were all of the opposite mode of thinking, no union was possible; and the Regent looked elsewhere for strength to his Cabinet. Marquess Wellesley now resigned his office of Foreign Secretary, in which he was succeeded by Lord Castlereagh. Lord Sidmouth became President of the Council; and Mr. Perceval was in the highest spirits at the dreaded period being so well get over—the period of the entrance of the Regent upon the possession of full kingly power—without any material change of councils. He and his comrades had escaped the disgrace of dismissal, and of a reversal of their policy. It was true that the nation was unhappy—the working classes starving and rebellious; the Corporation of London discontented and indignant; Ireland threatening a violent secession from the Union; and Napoleon yet unchecked abroad: it was true that our armies in the Peninsula were so ill supported that the best man in the Cabinet had resigned, in disgust at the treatment our best general was receiving from government; and that, out of the Cabinet, scarcely any one saw a gleam of hope within the whole compass of the political horizon: still, Perceval was as obtuse and sanguine as ever, and in higher spirits than ever, on ascertaining that the new monarch was of his party, and ready to renew his lease of power. The political blindness here was obvious to all clear-sighted men at the moment. A few weeks changed their natural indignation into a respectful compassion for his innocent human blindness.

Lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth in the Government.

Virtual close of the Reign.

This must be considered the close of the reign of George III. Instead of the funeral pomp of kings, there was the gay pageantry of opening parliament. Instead of the unsealing of the tomb where the weary one might rest, there was the intimation that he was imprisoned in a living grave. Instead of the solemnity of a Proclamation and Coronation, there was a mere striking off of fetters from the new ruler, who had no fresh style and title for heralds to shout abroad. But not the less was the reign of George III. closed; and, though silently, it was effectually put away among the records of history. It was, in fact, a reign of the last century; and subject only to the judgment appropriate to the deeds of a by-gone age; for, during the few years of the present century, his habits of mind had merely become confirmed, while his intellect was weakening. It had not been a good reign; neither honourable to himself, nor glorious, in any sense, for the national reputation, nor promotive of the happiness of his people. But few

were disposed, at the time of its virtual close, to deal strictly with him for it. His position was an appeal for forbearance. The time might come when he would be angrily represented as gone to that place where bad kings congregate, and suffer their retribution: but at present he was regarded as an outcast from both worlds of judgment, and wandering comfortlessly between them. If he had passed beyond the reach of remonstrance and censure, he had not arrived at the region of retribution; and those who had suffered under his rule strained their eyes to see, in his environment, cause for compassion, if not forgiveness. Now and then, but rarely, a glimpse was caught of his state. He was, very properly, kept in total seclusion, within a range of apartments at Windsor. As he was soon totally blind, such seclusion was no penalty to him. Room for exercise was all that he could enjoy; and that he had. We see him, after a time, through the eyes of a casual witness, walking in the corridor, dressed in a warm wrapping-gown, with long white beard, and his sightless eyes rolling restlessly; and again, at the piano, striking some chords, or playing some melody of his beloved Handel. We hear of him as being within sound of the funeral train which was about to lay in the grave, that still refused to open for him, the body of his grand-daughter—the heiress of his crown; yet unconscious of the calamity which touched every heart in the empire but his own—unmoved even to inquire the meaning of the trumpets, and the solemn music, and the tread of horses and of human feet. He lived thus for eight years after the assumption of full power by the Regent; and not till his funeral torches had burned out, did men feel disposed to pass judgment on his life and reign: and when they did, it was in the softened tone which men would naturally use in the presence of a ghostly image of a helpless old man, with sightless eyes, and a snowy beard upon his breast. 1811-12.

Mr. Perceval's high spirits continued. The war with America was on the point of breaking out. Dukes and earls were forbidding the appearance of pastry at their tables, and ordering rice flour, on account of apprehended famine. Men were hanged in rows and detachments for rebellion. Whole families were murdered, by ruffian thieves, in a single quarter of an hour; and citizens, worn by anxiety through the day, gave up their nightly rest, and formed themselves into a patrol, to save their families. Yet Mr. Perceval's spirits did not sink in the least. At a dinner party at his own house, in April, his guests "never saw him in a more bantering humour;" and his daughter told how he had promised his children to give a ball "when he had made a general peace which the whole nation should approve." MR. PERCEVAL. Ward's Memoirs, i. 476.

While these merry doings were going forward, there was a man dining, two or three times a week, at the coffee-room of the House of Commons, and hanging about the lobbies and galleries till his

1811-12. face became familiar to persons who had business there. The face was an interesting one; "strikingly composed and mild, though haggard," Wilberforce tells us. The man's appearance was that of a gentleman; and the people at whose house he lodged found him kind-hearted and considerate. On one of these days, a little child of his landlady's had strayed away; and the lodger exerted himself to recover it. On the morning of the 11th of May, he took the family to the European Museum, and pointed out to them what they ought to observe. He had a wife and children himself, he told them, and they lived at Liverpool. He had been four months away from them, trying to get justice for some cruel wrongs. Those wrongs were inflicted in Russia, where he, a merchant connected with Archangel, had been calumniated and imprisoned. His hostess, while listening to his quiet narrative, with his pathetic countenance before her, never dreamed of his being insane, and of the Russian prison having been, in fact, a lunatic division of the establishment. But so it came out to be, after his death. He said that his own government ought to have righted him; but that it had offensively refused to aid him. After the visit to the European Museum, he went into the Court of Chancery for some time, and then, as usual, to the House; and there he placed himself in the recess of the doorway of the lobby, standing with his right hand in his breeches pocket. Lord Eldon was wont to say that he was the person watched for—the stranger having hung about his Court just before: but the man himself said that he most wished to encounter Lord George Leveson Gower, our late Ambassador to Russia. It was Mr. Perceval, however, who first, of all his supposed enemies, appeared at the door. The hand, with a small pistol in it, was drawn from the pocket, and Perceval was shot through the heart. He staggered forward, muttered the word "murder" or "murdered," and died in ten minutes. While some of the members present raised him, and carried him into an adjoining room, others looked round for the murderer, who had been unmarked, and, in the confusion, might easily have escaped. He walked to the fire, laid his pistol on a bench, and, on being asked whether he was the villain, replied, "I am the unhappy man." As soon as it was known that he was Mr. Bellingham, an unfortunate merchant and ship-broker of Liverpoool, there were offers of evidence, to be brought from Liverpool, of his long-existing insanity. It is scarcely credible now that this should have been refused: and it appears sad that communication with Liverpool should have been too slow to save the poor man's life. If railroads and electric telegraphs had existed then, not all the indecent haste of the authorities could have taken away his life; for the evidences of his insanity were unquestionable. He knew, as he said, from the first what his fate would be. He assigned nothing like a reason for shooting Mr. Perceval: there was no con-

Annual Reg. 1812. Chron. p. 72.

Life, ii. p. 203.

His Death.

Bellingham.

nexion pointed out by him between his wrongs and the act of murder; yet he spoke and felt as if the connexion had been obviously close and logical. He was not proud or vain of what he had done; but calmly satisfied that it was not wrong. He shed tears when his victim's last moments were described, but still felt that all was as it should be. The authorities wondered extremely; but they did not pause. It seems as if their precipitation was caused by alarm at the reception of the news by a portion of the mob, whom they supposed to be a representation of the people at large. The first crowd in Palace Yard was composed of respectable people whose feelings were evidently human, and not political. Horror and concern were in every countenance. But presently the pick-pockets began to arrive, and to try to make confusion, for the sake of their own harvest. Then came flocking (on the news reaching the remoter parts of London) all who most intensely hated the government, and supposed that it must now be overthrown. Romilly relates that savage cries of exultation were heard, with lamentations that other members of the government had not been murdered also. Some of the ferocious rabble mounted the hackney-coach which was brought to convey Bellingham to Newgate; and others kept possession of the opposite door, as if for the purpose of rescue; so that he was sent away through another entrance. Romilly, sick at heart, said that the most lively alarms must be excited by such demonstrations in the minds of all thinking men: and that the English character seemed to have undergone some unaccountable and portentous change. If Romilly was so impressed, it is no wonder that the authorities were wholly dismayed, and full of the vindictiveness which attends dismay; and in this spirit they hurried on the trial. 1811-12. Memoirs, iii. 35.

It actually took place before an answer could be received by return of post to the earliest intimation to the family of what had happened. Mr. Perceval was shot soon after five in the afternoon of Monday; and the trial came on on the Friday, at the Old Bailey. Bellingham was hanged on the following Monday. His body was in the hands of the surgeons for dissection, "the heart still faintly beating," before a week was over from the moment in which he took his stand in the recess of the doorway. He was 42 years of age. Insanity had existed in his family before: and a son of his who, with the rest of the family, had changed his name, and who had successfully studied for the medical profession, became deranged as he approached his father's time of life, and was restrained as a lunatic. It is strange that the government did not see that their best policy was to receive every possible evidence that the act was that of a madman, instead of a political foe. But the madness was dangerous, and the man was extinguished. Ib., iii. 36. Pictorial Hist. viii. 500 (note).

The morning after the murder, measures were taken to secure from the nation a provision for Mr. Perceval's family. The family

1811-12. was a large one; but the provision made was out of all proportion to their needs, and fearfully vexatious to a suffering people, ill able now to brook such selfish profusion at their expense. One item after another was added by comrade or friend, in the course of the debate, till the grant mounted up to this:—50,000*l.* for the children; 2,000*l.* a year to their mother:—this 2,000*l.* per annum to revert to the heir on the death of the widow, to be enjoyed by him for life; and 1,000*l.* a year for life to the eldest son, on his coming of age. When this grant was made, no one dreamed of the destination which awaited a part of this monstrous provision. In the shortest possible time that decency would permit, Mr. Perceval's widow married again, leaving regret in many minds that no stipulation had been made for the return to the treasury, in such an event, of the income which had been intended as an endowment of her widowhood.

Provision for Mr. Perceval's Family. Hansard, xxiii. 248-247.

Life and Times of Geo. IV., p. 385.

The great question of the formation of a Ministry was thus brought up again. Before proceeding to detail the negotiations, we must see what those had to do who undertook to govern the country in 1812.

CHAPTER V.

1811-14.

NOTHING had been seen, since the beginning of the century, to compare with the distress of 1811 and 1812. The foreign commerce of the country was in a lower condition in 1811 than ever before in the memory of those living. Statesmen talked, and not unreasonably, of the renewal of our commerce with Portugal, in consequence of the expulsion of the French; and of the improvement of our trade with Brazil, from the establishment of the Braganza family there. They pointed to Russia, now rousing herself to resist Napoleon, and promised that the ports of the Baltic would soon be re-opened to British manufactures. All this was true; yet never had our commerce been so depressed. Our manufacturers were set fast, and could not pay wages on which their workmen could live; and workmen could not live on low wages when the average price of wheat was 112*s.* and that of meat 8*d.* and 9*d.* per lb. The ordinary course of manufacture—particularly of the hardware manufacture—was broken up. The factor stepped in between the employer and the operative, and made his market of the necessities of both, leaving them discontented with each other. The employer sold off his stock at a loss; and the workmen made inferior wares, by means of advances from the factor for materials. The wares were smuggled abroad, or sent wherever a new commercial opening appeared; and the reputation of some of our manufactures was fatally damaged by these reckless and ruinous proceedings.

STATE OF THE NATION.

In April, 1811, the necessity for parliamentary relief to the merchants had become urgent. It was not money that was deficient now, as in former seasons of distress, but security on which money could be obtained. It was not so much banking credit that had collapsed as mercantile credit. It was believed by the best economists of the time that a large immediate advance to the merchants and manufacturers, which should enable them to await the approaching opening of some foreign ports, would be a safe and a wise measure—however deplorable the necessity in itself. Parliament authorised an advance of not more than 6,000,000*l.* on adequate security. As usually happens in such cases, only a small part of the sum was called for:—in this case, not above 2,000,000*l.* The knowing that it could be had was the thing wanted.—At the

COMMERCIAL PRESSURE.

Hansard, xix. 496.

1811-14. same time, there were symptoms of revival of business from foreign demand; but, on the other hand, there were fears about the harvest. The preceding winter had been intensely cold: snow had choked up the mail roads, and buried thousands of sheep among the hills, and lain heavy on the hearts of thousands of weary families who were already chilled with hunger, and could no more buy fuel than they could clothe themselves in furs. The Thames was very nearly frozen over, that winter. The Spring was backward; and then the heats came rushing on, with more disastrous effect than the storms of winter. The meadows were parched up before any grass had been obtained; the springs ran dry. Church towers were struck by lightning, and the bells melted. Cattle and men were found scorched in the fields: and if a fire occurred, there was no putting it out. In Prussia, miles of woodland were left in a few hours strewed with ashes; and in the Tyrol, the conflagration of the forests proceeded from league to league, till 64 villages and 10,000 head of cattle were destroyed. 24,000 peasants were turned out to be scorched by the sun at noon, and drenched by the dews at night; and a multitude of them died in a few weeks by an epidemic thus occasioned. Every where the harvest was deficient; and in England the average price of wheat became 106*s*. 8*d*. The superstitious were more and more apprehensive, as time brought added distresses, that the nation was under the wrath of God; and in the early days of September, many believed there was no further doubt that the end of the world was at hand. A sign appeared in the sky, which to them seemed to show that Napoleon was the last great enemy of the race, and that the day of judgment was come. A comet, like none that they had seen or heard of, wheeled rapidly up the sky. The learned and the wise enjoyed the spectacle, as the vast new light arose in the still autumn evenings, half as large as the moon, with its broad train of light streaming down to the horizon; but the rude and the timid could not lift up their heads to gaze at it. Here and there, a man stood up in church or chapel, warning sinners to repent, and the righteous to stand fast for death, as the day of the Lord was at hand. Others were preaching at the corners of the streets, and in lanes, and on the hill side: and among the hearers were some who were almost glad to be told the tidings; for they were worn out with misery, and the grave is a place where "the weary are at rest." But, before the clouding over of the sky for winter, the sign had passed away, and the day of judgment had not come. Instead of this, the wicked were more rampant than ever. As the days shortened, midnight murder terrified those who had not been alarmed before. On the night of the 9th of December, the entire household of a Mr. Marr was murdered within a quarter of an hour—himself, his wife, their infant in the cradle, and the shop-boy under the counter;

Strange Seasons.

Ann. Reg., 1811. Chron. 88.

Crimes.

Ann. Reg., 1811. Chron. 138, 141.

and on the 19th, the entire household of a Mr. Williamson was butchered in the same manner. Such scenes of violence went forward in different parts of the country, that many began to be of Romilly's opinion, that the English character had undergone some unaccountable and portentous change. 1811-14

Portentous these horrors were; but not unaccountable. Many soldiers had become weary of the war, which to them had been thus far all hardship and no glory. They deserted. They could not show themselves at home, the penalty for desertion being death. They gathered together in gangs, took possession of some forsaken house among the hills, or of caves on the sea shore, and went forth at night in masks and grotesque clothing, and helped themselves with money and clothes, wherever they could find them, sacrificing life where it was necessary to their objects. In these times of dear food, the salaries of clerks and other persons valuable from their filling situations of trust, were doubled, to enable them to hold their place. Artisans too had high wages from those who could afford to employ them. We find that those who were employed at Greenwich Hospital were at this time receiving from 30*s.* to 35*s.* per week—a mere subsistence at such a season of high prices; but still a subsistence. But those whose services were not immediately wanted sank in proportion. In the factories, there was no increase of wages; and where, through dread of the despair of the people, there was a nominal rise of wages, it was usually compensated for by a reduction of the hours of labour. The fate of the handloom weavers appears to have been the hardest. In 1806, they had felt themselves badly off with 17*s.* 6*d.* a week; and now they had only 7*s.* 6*d.* This was at Glasgow; but it was a season of extreme pressure with spinners and weavers throughout the manufacturing districts of England. It was no consolation to them to be told that their depression could not be helped, because their labour had been displaced by machinery. At this date, one person could, with the help of machinery, spin as much cotton as 200 persons could have spun in the same time when the sufferers were setting out in life: and in weaving, a proportionate supersession of labour had taken place. Wise men knew that this machinery would, in a few years, employ many times more than the number of persons at first turned adrift: but this truth did not feed those who were hungering now; and it is no wonder that their misery avenged itself on the machinery which was doing their work, and, as they declared, stealing their bread. A gleam of moral light at such a time is too precious to pass away unnoticed; and it must therefore be mentioned that, in this dreary year, when the whole west of Scotland was in a wretched condition, the poor weavers of Hamilton refused to receive alms, and desired to work for their bread. A subscription had been raised for the unemployed; but they would not touch it

WAGES.

Porter's Progress, ii. pp. 251-254.

Ann. Reg., 1811, Chron. 39.

1811-14. till they had earned it. A foot-path from Hamilton to Bothwell bridge was therefore made; and the honourable weavers kept their honour. They little knew how they had thus beautified that foot-path to many that should come after them.

Imported Labour

We find, at the same time, notices of an extreme jealousy of imported labour, and of the success of certain strikes. The tillage of Lincolnshire was then beginning that course of improvement which has made its levels now, from being mere fen, one of the richest districts of England. The labourers, in the neighbourhood of Boston, expected to make "half a guinea a day" during the harvest, and to keep the corn in the fields till their limited supply of labour could carry it in. We find, in a Boston newspaper, a notice of Irish reapers as a sort of novelty, in that year. The farmers are vindicated for bringing them in to expedite the harvest, and to keep down wages; while the native labourers are severely rebuked for maltreating the strangers, and exhorted to observe towards them "the sacred obligations of hospitality," and the regard due to benefactors of the district.—We find broad

Prisoners of War.

hints given about the expense of the French prisoners in the country, and accounts spread abroad of the very different arrangement in France, where our imprisoned countrymen were drafted

Decree. Paris, *March* 1811.

into battalions, to be employed on the fortifications, and the roads and bridges. The cases were widely different — the deficiency in France being of able-bodied men, and here of the means of living: and, while so many of our own people could not find employment, government did not venture to bring the foreigners out into the daylight, and set them to work. The consequence was a perpetual series of attempts at escape, troublesome and expensive to the authorities, but romantic to read of now. The accumulation of prisoners, in both countries, had become very burdensome; and much more so to England than to France, as the French in this country were, for the most part, private soldiers; while, of the comparatively few English in France, very many were of respectable families, who had crossed the Channel on business or for pleasure during the Peace of Amiens, and were then detained by the barbarous policy of Napoleon. His Spanish and Portuguese prisoners, however, made his number of captives much more than equal to ours; and, in 1810, it had been hoped that he was ready to rid himself of them. There were then about 50,000 French prisoners with us; and not above 10,000 British in France. The Spanish in France were scarcely fewer than the French with us; and the Portuguese about 12,000. An exchange was negotiated; and many sunk hearts beat high with the expectation of freedom, and a native home, in a few weeks or days. But Napoleon insisted that for every three Frenchmen should be given—not three British subjects, but one British, and two Spanish or Portuguese.

Hansard, xx. 623.

To this our government would not consent; and the exiles sank

down again into heart-sickness. The gentry strolled about the country towns, and played billiards, to while away the time; and the soldiers earned their living, and some indulgences, by labour on the public works. As for the French on Dartmoor, and at Stilton, and other stations, they made their rations of bread into savoury soup, by some wonderful process, and carved their meat-bones into whirligigs and curious toys, which many a man now living remembers as one of the marvels and mysteries of his childhood. They must still go on to make toys, if any thing; for the starving working men of England would admit no foreigners to share of any useful labour which presented itself to be done. 1811-14.

The strikes which were successful at such a period as this were, of course, confined to the very few occupations that were flourishing. Weaving and spinning were sunk too low for even this poor resource; but we find the journeymen tailors in an opulent state, supporting four strikes for an increase of wages, within seven years, and succeeding in them all. They had money in the Bank for the assistance of operatives in other trades, throughout the country. The making of fire-arms was another prosperous branch of employment — no more affected than that of the tailors by the decline of foreign commerce, while the war lasted for which they supplied the appurtenances. While they were thus earning and enjoying the good things of life, Parliament was looking grave over a petition for relief, signed by above 40,000 "distressed manufacturers of Manchester," who were but a sample of the sufferers of their class throughout the kingdom. Sir Robert Peel, the father of the rising statesman just connected with the Ministry, said that no time, since the present state of society had existed, had ever witnessed such distress as that now under notice. He said that he was in a condition to speak positively as to the facts: and all his hearers knew that he was so. None of them, after that, could be much surprised at the methods that the operatives took to prevent, as they thought, their labour from being superseded by machinery. It was not eighteen months since Mr. Peel had said that England had continued flourishing, while foreign countries were decaying; and that "the only alteration had been the substitution of machinery for manual labour." If, now, the tens of thousands of distressed petitioners had been asked what they thought of the one only "alteration," they would have pronounced it the cause of all their woes. They could see nothing beyond it; and they would not believe that more fatal mischiefs lay behind it—obvious to those who stood on the high ground of science, but concealed from the lowly whom no one had yet undertaken to teach. Their next move was one which might have been expected, under the circumstances.

Annual Reg., 1811. Chron p. 11

Hansard, xx. 339.

MACHINERY

It was just at the most trying part of 1811, in November, that

1811-14. the hosiers of Nottingham had been obliged to discharge many of their workmen. These men saw nothing before them but the workhouse; and, at the same time, they knew that a certain wide frame, of a new construction, which could produce twenty-four dozen gaiters per week, at 4*s*. the dozen, making, was employed by a firm in Nottingham, and likely to be used by others. They knew that nearly 30,000 hosiery frames were in use in England, at that time; being such an increase as they were not disposed to allow. A new lace-frame had been patented two years before, which benefited their town and their neighbours, by almost superseding the manufacture of pillow-lace, which had hitherto supported thousands in Devonshire, Bedfordshire, and other counties. They could not reason from the one case to the other: they were in no mood for reasoning at all: and besides, the lace weavers were themselves in distress. One November Sunday they stood in groups, in the market-place and the streets of Nottingham, stirring up one another's wrath, and consulting what they should do. A manufacturer at Bulwell heard that they meant to come and break his frames; and he gave out that he should arm his workmen, and barricade his house. He did so, on the Monday evening. A body of rioters came, and demanded that the frames should be given up to them, or that they should be let in to break the frames for themselves. The owner refused both propositions, and was fired upon. Several shots were exchanged, and a weaver, who was tearing down the window-shutters, was shot dead. His comrades carried off his body, and presently returned with an addition to their force. They burst in; and the family barely escaped by a back door. The rioters burned, not only the frames, but every thing in the house.

Porter's Progress, i. 244, 245.

Frame Breaking. Annual Reg., 1811. Chron. p. 129.

Above thirty years before this time, an imbecile, named Ned Lud, living in a village in Leicestershire, was tormented by the boys in the street, to his perpetual irritation. One day, in a great passion, he pursued one of the boys into a house, and, being unable to find him, he broke two stocking-frames. His name was now either taken by those who broke frames, or was given to them. When frames were broken, Lud had been there; and the abettors were called Luddites—a name of great terror for two years from this November, 1811.

On the Tuesday, the rioters waylaid a carrier, broke the iron part of the frames he was conveying, and burned the wooden part in the street. In the night, they destroyed the greater part of the frames in a whole village. On Wednesday, they did much more, being still unopposed, to any effectual purpose. They assembled in open day; and destroyed not only fifty-three frames, but a corn-mill. From this time, they swore vengeance in the first place against millers and corn-dealers. It was only on the Thursday that the magistrates began "to think of decisive measures;" and

no application reached the Home Office till Friday morning. On the Sunday, when Nottingham was filled with the local militia, and a detachment of cavalry was posted in the market-place, it was given out that "tranquillity was entirely restored." In Nottingham it might be so, for the moment; but the country round knew nothing of tranquillity for many a long month afterwards. Small parties incessantly dropped down before the doors, wherever there was a frame, and, having demolished it, disappeared before any alarm could be given. Such practices are as contagious as autumn fever. Before the close of the year, the disturbances had spread into Derbyshire and Leicestershire, though Nottingham remained the head-quarters of the insurrection. 1811-14.

There was a law against frame-breaking, which rendered the offenders liable to transportation for fourteen years: but it contemplated only the destruction of hosiery frames—not those used in the lace and other manufactures. On the 14th of February, Mr. Secretary Ryder introduced a Bill rendering capital the offence of destroying all machinery used in manufactures. He also proposed to revive the operation of the existing law, which empowered the county authorities to obtain lists of all the male inhabitants above the age of twenty-one, for the purpose of selecting a sufficiency of special constables, for the keeping of the peace. The Bills passed the Commons within a week. The debate in the Lords, on the second reading, is chiefly interesting to us now as having given occasion to the only speech in parliament of Lord Byron, who was then young, and a new member of the legislature. When he took his seat, he would not ask any peer of any party to introduce him properly; and no one knew he was coming; yet he was as pale, with mortification and anger, as if he had been purposely neglected. A friend who was with him caused the Chancellor to be informed of his presence; and Lord Eldon, always kind and courteous on such occasions, left the woolsack, went up to him, and offered his hand, which was all but rejected. The moody young man declared to his friend that he did not choose to be set down as belonging to any party. He would have nothing to do with any of them: he had taken his seat, and he would go abroad. He did so; but was back again before this debate. His speech was a very able one in its way—a strong pleading for the famishing operatives; but it was mistimed, very factious in its spirit, and violent in its language. It was unpractical, because it arraigned the policy of the government at the wrong moment, and called for "conciliation" as the reward of violence against society. It ended with the declaration that, to convict a frame-breaker, it would be necessary to have "twelve butchers for a jury, and a Jefferies for a judge." And here ends the brief record of the parliamentary life of Lord Byron. The Bills passed in March. Before that time, the insurrection had spread through Lancashire and Cheshire,

1812.

LUDDITE ACTS.

Hansard, xxi. 807.

Dallas's Recollections, pp. 51-54.

Hansard, xxi. 966.

1811-14. and the West of Yorkshire; and the second Bill was, consequently, so far altered as to extend its provisions to the whole country.

Progress of Luddism. During that terrible winter and spring, lights were burning, and watchers were sitting up every night, in all houses in any way connected with manufactures. The method of the insurgents was to send a party of about fifty men to a village; to post sentinels in every avenue, and proceed in silence to their work. It was done with surprising quietness; houses forced and frames broken almost without noise. When every frame in the place was broken, or when an alarm of the approach of the soldiery was given, the leader fired his piece, and his comrades dispersed—so skilfully and rapidly that few were ever taken. They could destroy a frame in one minute, after a few weeks' practice. When any one of them was in danger of capture, at any time or place, he shouted "Ned Lud," and a party of rescuers were instantly on the spot. They passed through crowds in a compact body, with masks on their faces, and not a hand was raised against them. A piquet of a hundred men, headed by magistrates, paraded the streets of Nottingham every night; but they could find nothing to do. The destruction went on, as if the special constables had been all asleep in their beds. Militia, Bow-street officers, infantry, and hussars, were equally useless. The device of wearing soldiers' great coats saved many a party of rioters from being stopped. Presently, incendiarism began; and Manchester mills were burned down. Then, Huddersfield, Leeds, and Bradford, were in uproar, and cloth-mills were emptied, night by night. Household furniture was destroyed; and the proprietors were tied together, naked, and thrown upon the floor. Some offenders, left wounded, were found to be unconnected with manufactures; a collier here—a tinner's apprentice there. By April, they were storming the depôts of the local militia, and helping themselves with arms. The leaders now appeared in women's clothes, and were called Ned Lud's wives. Potato cellars were cleared; flour shops were pillaged; mail-coaches were stoned, because they sometimes carried soldiers or police. Somewhat later, the public was shocked by the news that two wounded rioters near Leeds were found to be—the one a clergyman's son, the other a member of the Halifax militia. It was no longer an affair of mere frame-breaking. Dead bodies were found in ditches, and half-covered in the woods. Some towns began to be short of provisions, as the farmers were afraid to go to market. In the night of the 30th of April, the streets of Nottingham were placarded with bills, offering a reward for the delivery of the Mayor, dead or alive, to the Luddites. Mr. Horsfall, an eminent manufacturer of Huddersfield, was fatally shot, from behind a wall, by four men, who were awaiting him; and Mr. Trentham, of Nottingham, met the same fate. When it was discovered

that a bounty of 5*l.* 5*s.*, and a salary of 15*s.* a week, were pressed upon the local militia by Luddite delegates, seven regiments were sent down in one week to the disturbed districts. It was next discovered that parties of United Irishmen had been brought over, to administer the oaths of the Luddites; and, from that time, the seizure of arms became a leading feature of Luddite business. A working man, mistaken for another, and recognised only at the last minute, was taken to the edge of an old coal-pit, to be hurled down; and thus was disclosed a new and horrible method of murder. Several offenders were taken; but no one of them could be induced to make any confession, or give any information. At the trials, before a Special Commission at Chester, in May, sixteen were condemned to death, of whom five were executed; eight were transported, and others imprisoned: but no one of them opened his lips upon Luddism. In the summer, the assizes were continued by adjournment, that no suspense might ensue on the capture of rioters. By that time, corn was becoming scarce, and flour was selling at the unheard-of price of 7*s.* a stone. At Sheffield, the populace, in irresistible numbers, visited the flour-dealers, and compelled them, under threats of burning their premises, to sign an engagement to sell their flour at 3*s.* a stone. Nobody, at that time, could keep any article made of lead. Pumps, waterspouts, church-roofing, were carried off in the night, to make Luddite bullets. Men almost doubted whether they could be living in England—merry old England—while they had to lead such a life. In June, eight persons were hanged together at Manchester, for Luddite offences. 1811-14.

By that time, Lord Sidmouth had entered upon the office of Home Secretary: an appointment which was a great misfortune to the country—both at the moment, and for many years afterwards. The sensitiveness, vanity, and narrow views, of this Minister have been apparent throughout the narrative of his transactions, since the beginning of the century: but now, other qualities appeared, in his new office—somewhat to the surprise of his own adherents. His tenacity, alternating with indecision, they were aware of: but no one knew how hard he could be till now. His flatterers told him he was firm and resolute in "crushing sedition:" and his predominant idea, for the rest of his official existence, was "crushing sedition." The multitude—which means much more than the populace—thought him a cruel minister; and so he was. He did not mean to be cruel. Few people ever do. Incompetency and vanity, acting upon a complete set of prejudices, made him one of the harshest of tyrants, while he was sitting, with a mild countenance, by his own fireside, gently folding his hands, and talking about his duty, and blandly compassionating all misery that came actually before his eyes. He went on crushing sedition in such a manner that there was always, while he

LORD SIDMOUTH HOME SECRETARY.

1811-14. remained at the Home Office, sedition to be crushed. There has been very little since.

One of the first incidents that occurred after Lord Sidmouth's acceptance of his new office was the sending of a Royal Message to Parliament, commending to their attention the disturbed state of the inland counties. Lord Sidmouth moved the answer to the Message, and procured a Secret Committee for the reception of evidence, and consultation upon it. Through Lord Castlereagh, a similar Committee was obtained in the other House. The Bill which was proposed, in consequence, was the occasion of very painful and discreditable debate; each party in parliament charging its opponents with being the cause of the insurrection. The Ministerial party complained of inflammatory publications, and the popular tendency to sedition. The Opposition members ascribed the tumults to want, and the want to misgovernment: and they were not careful to conceal their disgust at the spy system of the Home Office, which was sure to excite more sedition than it could ever put an end to. The Bill, which became law before the end of July, was of a temporary character—its expiration being fixed for the 25th of the next March. Its objects were to facilitate the discovery and collection, by the authorities, of concealed arms; to provide for the instant dispersion of tumultuary assemblies; and to give the magistrates of the disturbed counties a concurrent jurisdiction, that offenders might no longer escape by crossing the boundary between two counties. At the very time of the final discussion of this Bill, on which the attention of the whole country was fixed, a gang of fifty armed insurgents were pursuing their practices of extortion, intimidation, and destruction, in Huddersfield, though the thirty-three public-houses in the town were crowded with soldiers, to the number of thirty in each. The government insisted, during every pause of a few days, that they had exterminated Luddism; and then occurred a new outrage to perplex them. This went on, though with longer pauses, and a decided decrease of violence, to the end of the year.

Hansard, xxiii. 795.

Sedition discussed in Parliament.

Hansard, xxiii. 967.

Annual Reg., 1812. Chron. p. 109.

Punishment of the Luddites.

In November, a Special Commission was issued for the trial of such Luddites as had been lodged in York Castle; and a government agent was sent down, to select such cases as were most likely to end in conviction, in order to impress the people with a sense of the inevitable retribution of the law; inevitable, except by the extension of that mercy which it was proposed to accord to some who were less guilty, and more under the power of leaders, than those who were to take their trial. On the 9th of January, 1813, three men were hanged in irons at York, for the murder of Mr. Horsfall; and on that day week, fourteen others were executed at the same place for Luddite offences. Seven suffered first: and within two hours, the other seven. There were soldiers enough present to overawe the vast multitude assembled; and an extraordinary silence

1813.

Annual Reg., 1813. Chron. p. 6.

prevailed. By degrees, the military were withdrawn from the country districts. 1811-14.

A long pause now ensued, occasioned at first, no doubt, by the stringency of the new measures, but mainly attributable to the plentiful harvest of 1813, and the renewal of commercial intercourse with the Continent. In August, the price of wheat had fallen from 121*s.* to 112*s.* 6*d.*; and by December, it was 74*s.* 11*d.*; the distress being transferred from the manufacturing to the agricultural classes. Food had not been so cheap since May, 1808. The adversity of the farmers took effect on the country banks, which had doubled their number since the beginning of the century. In 1814 and the two following years, 240 out of 700 country banks stopped payment: and this crash, in its turn, involved the manufacturing interest; and Luddism recommenced, as might be expected. Throughout the summer of 1814, Nottingham was again the centre of violence and alarm. Frame-breaking, incendiarism, and occasional murder recurred, and Lord Sidmouth was again busy crushing sedition. He would have found it harder work, but for the peace, which infused hope into all hearts that good times were coming. A bevy of foreign potentates, and other "illustrious strangers," were in London that summer, stimulating the holiday mood of the people. There is something striking to the reader of the records of the time, in the tone of surprise with which the good order of the multitude is spoken of. The congratulatory tone adopted shows how firmly associated were then the ideas of gatherings of the people and lawless purposes. It was not for long, however, that government could compliment "the lower orders" on their peaceable behaviour. Lord Sidmouth's biographer speaks of that brief season of order as a short lull, during which he can indulge his readers with other topics than that disaffection which, though "now silenced, was, unhappily, not subdued."

M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary, p. 399.

1814.

Ib., p. 70.

Annual Reg., 1814. Chron. pp. 30, 37, 31, 85, 92.

Life, iii. 97.

CHAPTER VI.

1809-14. THE result of the national consultations in parliament, after the catastrophe of Sir John Moore's expedition, was that the Peninsular War should be persevered in. There was much regret that the expelled troops had been brought home, instead of being transferred to Lisbon or Cadiz. It was considered to be a needless flattery of the enemy, and a needless discouragement to ourselves, to have thus, for even the shortest time, abandoned the struggle. It was indeed for a very short time. On the 22nd of April, 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Lisbon, with men and means for entering on a campaign. He was welcomed at Lisbon, as if the inhabitants had foreseen what would be the result of this landing; as if they had known that he would not want his ships again till he should be at Calais, returning home after the pacification of Europe. He, perhaps, of all the multitude assembled that day in the streets of Lisbon—of all the crowd of men of many nations—best knew what must be first endured. As he alone, probably, was capable of it, he was best aware of the long preparation necessary before there could be much achievement; of the long struggle necessary to obtain even a footing from which to proceed; of the tremendous tension of patience—the prodigious resource of fortitude—that would be required of him, even before the skill and courage looked for in generalship could come into play before men's eyes. The task to be achieved was to liberate Europe from the peril of a military servitude, and to restore her to her place in the register of the ages, in regard to civilization, by means of a firm stand made in her Peninsular extremity. This noble task could have been no easy one, if all aids and facilities had been at command: but Wellesley knew it to be far otherwise. He must have known that the government at home was weak, narrow-minded, and selfish, driven hard by an able Opposition, averse to the war; and perplexed by the growing distress and disaffection of the people. He knew that Portugal and Spain were ravaged and wasted by the cruel system of warfare carried on by the enemy; and that his own troops, however brave, were inexperienced; while the Spanish forces were wholly unfit to meet in open field the armies of France, and their commanders were fearfully prone to

Peninsular War.

Sir A. Wellesley.

Difficulties.

jealousy of foreigners, and to caprice and self-will in their notions of the way in which the war should be conducted. If Wellesley was, at this time, aware of all these obstacles in the way of the work he had accepted, we can hardly estimate the courage which animated him to accept it. If he was not aware of his difficulties from the outset, we can hardly estimate the fortitude and patience with which he received and dealt with them as they arose, during whole years of unprosperous struggle—the necessary, but hard condition of ultimate victory. 1809-14.

A brief view of the successive campaigns of Wellesley will give a clear idea of the Peninsular war, which may be said to have had a fresh beginning from the landing of the general, with his troops and stores, in April, 1809.

CAMPAIGN OF 1809.

It was clear to him, in the first place, that the enemy could never be beaten in detail. French armies were posted, or roving, in various parts of the Peninsula: and the defeat of one, or two, or three of them would only send the beaten force to strengthen some other. Even victory could not, in this way, free Spain within any assignable time. The warfare must be brought within compass, if there was to be any end to it. Wellesley would fain have driven at once at the very heart of the usurpation—would have so penetrated in the direction of Madrid as to compel the French armies to draw together. At first, it was his hope, as well as his desire, to do this: but he presently saw that Portugal must be cleared, before any thing else could be done with safety. Soult, one of Napoleon's best generals, was at Oporto; and his army occupied the northern provinces of Portugal, to the extent of one-third of the kingdom. He might come down upon the line of communication with Lisbon, if the British advanced into Spain; and, again, the Portuguese might think themselves deserted, and grow disheartened, if they were left with an enemy pressing upon them, while their great ally went seeking other foes over the frontier.

EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH FROM PORTUGAL. Wellington's Despatches, iv. 323.

The thing determined on was immediately done. On the 12th of May, the two armies were gazing at each other from the northern and southern banks of the Douro, at Oporto. The broad and rapid stream rolled between. The circumstance of difference was that the French had drawn over to their northern bank all the boats they could hear of. This seemed to settle the business, as to the impossibility of a battle: but Wellesley had obtained possession of three little boats, with which he contrived to land a few soldiers, unobserved, behind a building. But for the anxious faces and gestures of the towns-people, the enemy would have perceived nothing of what was going on, till large bodies of troops were landed: but they made the discovery very early; and the chance of the British who had crossed appeared desperate. More boats were now sent, however; the troops first landed maintained

1809-14. their ground; and the French were defeated. At four o'clock, Wellesley sat quietly down to the dinner which had been cooked for Soult. While retreating, the next day, Soult discovered that the British were behind, as well as before him, in possession of bridges and the great road. His own outlying forces were driven back upon him; and his situation was desperate. He heard the artillery of the British approaching; he saw their outposts coming on. He forsook his artillery, baggage, and ammunition—blowing up as much as time allowed—and escaped over the mountains by passes so difficult that all the horses and mules, as well as the sick and wounded, fell into the hands of the pursuing British. By the time Soult crossed the frontier, on his way to Lugo, he had lost a fourth of the army with which he had awaited the British at Oporto, and nearly the whole of its appurtenances. Along the entire route, the ashes of villages, ravaged fields, and the dead bodies of the peasants, told what had been the wants, and what the temper, of the defeated force.

Thus was the first aim accomplished. Portugal was cleared of the French. It was done within a fortnight of the armies first coming in sight of each other.

Want of Money.

Despatches, iv. 414.

Indiscipline of Troops.

Despatches, iv. 436.

And now began the hero's vexations. For a month, in the finest season of the year, he could not proceed towards his grand aim—reaching Madrid through Estremadura—for want of money. Moreover, his soldiers spent that month disgracefully—transgressing all bounds of discipline, and exasperating the inhabitants whom they had come to help. Their pay was in arrear, and they were discontented: but their plunder and profligacy were too bad for excuse or allowance; and their great commander declared them, at this time, "worse than an enemy in a country, and subject to dissolution alike by success or defeat." The time was to come when the same general was to declare the same army "a perfect machine," as the highest praise he could give. Meantime, he had to educate his soldiery, in professional morals as well as business. He began by authorising increased severity of punishment, and by having the roll called every hour—to the extreme inconvenience of stragglers.

On the 25th of June, a supply of money arrived; and the British might move on towards Spain. And now came another vexation. It should be mentioned, not because it is possible or desirable to detail the embarrassments of the great leader; but because a specimen of each class of vexations will give the best idea of what the sum of the whole must have been. Wellesley requested the Spanish general, Cuesta, to take up some strong position near the foot of the Sierra Morena, and to keep the French army of the south, under Victor, amused and employed, while the British and Portuguese moved upon Placencia and Talavera, so as to threaten Madrid, and cut off Victor from access

Failure of Concert in the Spanish.

to the capital. Cuesta refused to go further south than the Guadiana; and the best scheme of the campaign had to be given up. Victor joined the King, his master, and the other generals and their forces, which were all concentrated to bear down the British and their allies at Talavera. The battle of Talavera, fought almost exclusively by the British against the French, was the first during the whole of the wars of the reign, in which the two nations had fought on a large scale, so as to try their powers before the eyes of the world. For two successive days, 22,000 British fought 45,000 French; and the victory—hardly won, and bloody, but very glorious—remained with the British. The results proved to be much smaller than might have been expected. Those who were indisposed to the war said that the results were nothing. But, however subsequent troubles might have perplexed men's vision, it is now evident that the conviction, immediately spread abroad over Europe, that the British could meet and beat the French in a pitched battle, was a result which no man should have dared to despise. The battle was fought on the 27th and 28th of July. As soon as the news arrived in England, Sir Arthur Wellesley was created Lord Viscount Wellington; and we shall henceforth call him by that name by which he will be known through all coming time.

1809-14.

Despatches, iv. 430.

TALAVERA, *July* 28, 1809.

Despatches, iv. 532-537.

WELLESLEY BECOMES WELLINGTON.

Almost before his soldiers had rested from the battle, Wellington had to guide them in a difficult and dangerous retreat. The Spaniards had let Soult and his army unmolested through a pass which ought to have been held against him; and he had come down upon Placencia, close upon the rear of the British, and directly in the way between them and Lisbon. Our great general would fain have dealt with both the armies between which he was now placed—engaging first the one, and then the other; and if he had had double his force of British soldiers—of whom he had 20,000—he would probably have done the deed; but the Spaniards were showing him very plainly that they were not to be depended on. Brave as many of them were, and well as they acted on particular occasions, and in particular branches of the service, they were so uncertain, as to courage, discretion, and temper, that no hazard must be incurred in reliance on them. When, on the 3rd of August, the retreat was begun, 2,000 British wounded were left at Talavera under the charge of the Spanish general Cuesta, who had himself chosen the service of keeping the place, and protecting the wounded; but, almost before Wellington was out of sight, Cuesta left the wounded to their fate, and followed his ally, for safety. He soon after resigned his command, disheartened by difficulties; and his force was broken up into divisions. Such incidents as these, happening on many critical points, and through a series of weeks and months, showed the world plainly enough, that the Peninsular war was to be carried through by the British,

RETREAT.

1809-14. aided by the Portuguese, and with more hindrance than help from the Spanish forces. Wellington was now compelled to cross the Tagus. He destroyed the bridges; but the French discovered a ford; and there was now nothing to prevent a junction of the whole French force. Their numbers were so overwhelming, that they must have destroyed the army of the allies, if they had made the attempt; but they did not; and Napoleon regretted the mistake, to the end of his life. Their soldiers, like ours, were weary and hungry; but the French generals must have deeply respected the quality of the British troops, to hesitate at such a juncture to attack them. They had delivered over Madrid to Joseph, however, and driven the British to the south of the Tagus; and they rested on those achievements.

Hardships. If Wellington could have fed his soldiers, he would, even now, have resumed offensive operations: but the Spaniards broke all their promises about furnishing provisions, while themselves feeding abundantly. The horses of the British artillery and cavalry were dying by hundreds of mere starvation; the men were often a whole day without any food at all; and they rarely had enough; while the Spanish troops, who had deserted the wounded of their allies, were abundantly supplied before their eyes. Quarrels naturally arose, spreading from the generals to the privates of the allied forces; and after a miserable month, the British crossed the mountains to the south of them, and descended into the valley of the Guadiana, having Badajoz, with its magazines of provisions, for their head-quarters. They now had food; but their misery increased. Fever brooded over the wet sands of the valley; and soon, 7000 British were in hospital; and nearly two-thirds of them died.

The ruinous defeat of the Spanish at Ocana, in November, closed the campaign. It was so complete, that King Joseph thought himself established in safety, and concluded that the Peninsular War was at an end. The effect upon Wellington was to convince him that the preservation of Portugal must be his grand object. A basis might thus be retained for operations in happier days. He devoted his mind to secure this humbler aim with the same calmness and cheerfulness that he manifested in the richest hour of victory. He withdrew his troops over the frontier, and so posted them as to secure the great road to Lisbon from the French who were assembling in vast numbers at Ciudad Rodrigo. The greater part of the British force was at Almeida; and the rest within easy reach.

Gloomy close of the Year. Thus closed the year 1809, in deep gloom, as regarded the Spanish cause. The prospect for the British was dreary. Wellington could not maintain his army, as the French generals did theirs, by ravaging the country, and starving the inhabitants. Though his virtuous policy proved the best in the long run, as it

secured the good-will of the natives, and won from them a variety of essential services, it cost money at the moment; and the difficulty of obtaining money from home was so great as to become at times exasperating. He had seldom or never more than 25,000 soldiers producible in the field; and men also were most sparingly supplied from home. Of the quality of his allies, no more need be said. Meantime, while Wellington was maintaining his little army at the cost of 230,000*l.* a month, the French were paying for nothing that they could help themselves to. Their force amounted to 90,000 men; and they could have more whenever they pleased. They were exhilarated with their victory at Ocana, and entered upon the year 1810 in high spirits. It was not till their adversity began that they knew what they had done in drawing upon themselves the deadly hatred of the peasantry. 1809-14.

While the spirits of the French in Spain were at the highest, those of the British nation were at the lowest. At the beginning of 1810, the forces of the empire were more prodigious than at any time since the English began to be a nation. The sea was wholly ours; and our colonial possessions and India were safe. One hundred thousand men were on the continent; and 400,000 militia and regular troops guarded the British islands: yet it seemed as if nothing was done. The people bore the burden of this unexampled military expenditure; and they saw nothing but failure every where. The Walcheren expedition was a failure; we had failed at Naples; Sir J. Moore's army was driven out of Spain; and now Wellington, having gained nothing but an empty victory, was in full retreat before the triumphant enemy. The deep despondency of the people found a voice in Parliament; and the coolest leaders of the Opposition avowed their belief that, in a few months, not a British soldier would remain in the Peninsula, but as a prisoner. The City of London addressed the throne, praying for an inquiry into the conduct of Wellington, in consequence of the failure of his expedition into Spain. Under the light of subsequent events, this appears a strange and scarcely credible incident; but it must be remembered that Wellington had then his European reputation to make. India had been the scene of his greatness; and it remained to be shown what he could do in European warfare. No one knew so well as himself how long a time must yet elapse before he could vindicate his early reputation; and he braced himself up, in solitary resolution and silent patience, to wait, and to make others wait, for the day of his glory. He intended the campaign of 1810 to be one of waiting; and he matured his defensive policy with a fortitude far more moving to look back upon now than his most splendid triumphs. Meantime, the City of London, in their address to the King, protested against conferring "honourable distinctions on a general, who had thus exhibited, with equal rashness and ostentation, nothing but a useless valour." 1810. Alison's History, vii. 809. Ib., 810.

1809-14. They were now soon to see that he could forego "ostentation," and that something lay under the "valour."

Campaign of 1810.

Government resolved to go on with the Peninsular war; and parliament granted ample supplies for the purpose. Napoleon, having won the battle of Wagram, moved his forces upon Spain, and raised the amount of his troops there to the enormous number of 366,000. He allowed only 80,000*l.* per month for their support, compelling them to levy from the Spaniards what more they wanted; a short-sighted and fatal policy; as he learned when, at a future time, he found every peasant his enemy, and could by no art obtain messengers, guides, or any means of correspondence between the different bodies of his soldiery. His brother, on the throne of Spain, was already without a shilling; and the Ministers had scarcely clothes to their backs. His soldiers scraped the country bare, and kept for themselves whatever they could lay hands on.

Alison's History of Europe, vii. 823.

Loss of Cities.

On the 1st of February Joseph entered Seville in triumph; the city having surrendered the day before. Malaga fell next. The noble Albuquerque saved Cadiz; and thereby the cause: for, if Cadiz had fallen now, Wellington could not have sustained himself in Portugal. In May, Lerida surrendered to the French, the governor being unable to endure the spectacle of the slaughter, by bombs and howitzers, of the multitude of women and children who had crowded into the citadel. The garrison consisted of 7,000 men: yet they surrendered, to save a further sacrifice of the lives of the helpless. In the east of Spain the French were subjugating one district after another: and in July, the adversity of Spain seemed to be completed by the fall—under the very eyes of Wellington—of the important fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo. Wellington was on the hills, with 32,000 men; and there he remained, seeing the fatal blow struck. It was more than probable that the same stroke would lay low his own reputation: but the French were more than double his own numbers, and on a large proportion of his troops he could not depend. If it was all-important that he should retain Portugal, he must not go down into the plain, and expose the cause to so tremendous a risk. He therefore remained upon the hills, and saw the fortress fall.

He had for some time been aware that the whole responsibility of the Peninsular War rested on himself. After the Cabinet quarrel which threw out Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, the Ministers had told him so. Lord Liverpool and Mr. Perceval, the two with whom he had to do, told him so. They could not understand the business; they shared the popular alarm about the enterprise; and they merely deferred to his judgment: they hung upon him, rather than sustained him. They sent out, however, some of the arms and clothing he demanded; and he worked hard, during the winter, to make real soldiers of the Portuguese. He

clothed them; he armed them; he filled up their ranks and drilled them; and they improved in capability as the English improved in health and strength. So long ago as the preceding October, he had, in his own mind, fixed on Torres Vedras as the station which he would fortify, to secure Lisbon, and form an impregnable position, for refuge, defence, or starting point of offence, as the case might hereafter require. There his engineers worked diligently for above a year; at the end of which time there were three lines of defence, and within all, an entrenched camp, which secured both the arrival and departure of troops by sea. The outer line was 29 miles long, and extended from the Tagus above Lisbon to the sea-coast at Zezambre. It was at first intended merely to keep the enemy in check; and the second, eight miles long, was made the strongest, and the real post of defence: but there was time to fortify the outer line, so as to make it impregnable, before it was wanted. These works were proceeding during the spring and summer of 1810, while the Spanish fortresses were falling; and were nearly concluded when, on the 11th of July, Wellington witnessed the entrance of the French into Ciudad Rodrigo.

1809-14.

WELLINGTON'S DEFENSIVE POILCY.

LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS.

It was Massena who made this conquest, and was now immediately opposed to Wellington. He moved over the frontier, the British retiring before him. Almeida, the late station of the British, was lost on the first attack, from a French bomb blowing up the magazine, and depriving the garrison of all their ammunition at one blast. As Wellington retreated down the valley of the Mondego, he compelled the destruction of every thing, over a wide tract of country—crops, mills, all that could afford means of subsistence to the enemy. Multitudes of destitute people accompanied him, or made the best of their way to Lisbon. The women carried the children: the young carried the aged: any might take what property they could convey; but all else was burned, or sunk in the rivers. As Lisbon became overcrowded with the fugitives, such a cry of horror and grief arose—such a temper of despair was manifested—that Wellington found he must permit some fighting, to rouse the courage of people, soldiery, and the governments of both countries. Then was fought the battle of Busaco.

RETREAT THROUGH PORTUGAL.

The ridge of Busaco overhung the northern shore of the Mondego, down which the French were marching, to the number of 72,000. The British and Portuguese, numbering 50,000, crossed the river, and took possession of the ridge. On the night of the 26th of September, the fires of the bivouacs shone on the craggy peaks above which the stars were bright. The young soldiers, to whom the expectation of a great battle was new, did not sleep so sound as the veterans; and, towards morning, they heard a rustling in the woods of the gullies on the mountain side. The outposts of the enemy had crept up close to the British outposts. Every man was on his feet, the instant the alarm was given: and two strong

BUSACO, *September* 24, 1810.

1809-14. columns of the enemy appeared in front. The conflict was a desperate one; but the French were driven back at all points, and finally beaten at the bottom of the hill. This was the first time that the Portuguese had encountered the French in actual battle; and their success, and the praises given them by Wellington, and the clear view they now had of their importance in the cause, doubled their value, as patriots and soldiers, in a single day. This was the great result of the battle of Busaco.

Despatches, *September* 30, 1810.

Massena's Imprudence.

Wellington had looked for another. He fully expected that Massena would halt or turn back, if beaten at Busaco. But Napoleon's orders were so positive, and it had become so settled a habit with his generals to push on in hopes of striking a decisive blow, that Massena proceeded. The valley of the Mondego was now impracticable; but there was a mountain pass by which he could attain the great north road from Lisbon to Oporto; and he was permitted to reach it unmolested. From the ridge of Busaco, Wellington saw the enemy defiling through the pass: and he let them go, aware that they were marching to their destruction. He continued his retreat to Torres Vedras, clearing the country of food, people, and animals, as he went. On the 15th of October, the whole force had entered within the lines. Immediately after, Massena came up. He knew nothing whatever of any entrenchments; and here he found a breastwork of fortifications against which the billows of war might dash for ever without disturbing the calm within. He had no magazines: the whole country around and behind him was bare; and the Portuguese militia every where cut off his communication with Spain. There is no need to dwell on the miseries suffered by his troops. In a month, during which he hoped for instructions from Paris, his army was cruelly wasted by hunger and disease. It is needless also to detail the abuse heaped upon the British general by Napoleon, his newspapers, and his creatures. It was not likely that Wellington would be pardoned for adopting a method of warfare opposite to that which was Napoleon's *forte*. All that we have to do with the question here is to show how the defensive method answered, in regard to the war. This was soon a clear point. On the 14th of November, Massena drew off his force, in beggarly condition; and for the first time since the accession of Napoleon, the French standards were carried backwards in regular retreat. Before Massena quitted Portugal, he had lost 45,000 men; the loss of the allies being less than a fourth of that number.

Retreat of the French.

1811. Wellington followed the enemy, and kept close watch. Massena lingered on the north bank of the Tagus, striving to collect a subsistence, and avoid the disgrace of evacuating Portugal, without having struck another blow: but, when he heard of the arrival of reinforcements from England in March (after six weeks of contrary winds), he hastened back to Almeida and

Ciudad Rodrigo, whence he had set forth so hopefully, half a year before. 1809-14.

The delay caused by those six weeks of contrary winds was a grievous misfortune to the British. The enemy had obtained such advantages near the frontier, that a new invasion of Portugal might be looked for. The Spanish commanders were exhibiting more presumption and weakness than ever. One sacrificed a large force on the Gebora: and another shamefully surrendered Badajoz. Nothing went well where British generals were absent. A last stand was made by Massena at Almeida; and the battle fought for the possession of the place was the most critical yet for the British; the most nearly lost, and the most fatal if lost. Massena, however, marched away, and stopped no more till he reached Salamanca. By the 12th of May, 1811, Portugal had cast out her invaders. PORTUGAL CLEAR.

There could not be much joy on the occasion, so wretched was the condition of the inhabitants. It was a serious thought—and especially in the gloomy year 1811—that we were not only to sustain Portugal by the force of our arms, but to feed her people out of our purses. Yet, there was nothing else to be done, if the peasantry were not to die of famine throughout the country. In April, the Prince Regent sent a message to Parliament on the subject; and a grant of 100,000*l.* was agreed to. Meetings were held in London and Westminster, to promote private subscriptions; and the compassion of England was so roused that the supplies sent out to Lisbon were effectual. GRANT FOR THE RELIEF OF THE PORTUGUESE. Ann. Reg., 1811, p. 37.

While many at home complained that the war dragged, and groaned out that Napoleon was no more in danger of extinction than heretofore, the greater number became aware that important steps had been gained. The Ministers were among these. They had fully expected to hear that Wellington and his troops must embark from Lisbon; and they made haste to provide shipping which should save the army. They sent word to him not to come home, but to proceed to Cadiz, and renew the contest from that point. When they found that the lines at Torres Vedras were impregnable, and that their General had issued from them to chase the French out of Portugal, they began, at last, to entertain some hope of final success. Thus closed the campaign of 1810, extending over the spring of 1811.

In 1811, Napoleon was at the height of his power, and England was in the lowest depth of her weakness. We can perceive now how near was the turning point: but nobody perceived it then — not even the far-seeing Wellington, much less the self-willed Napoleon. His was now the pride which goes before a fall. Reckoning on the weakness of England, and his military possession of the whole of Spain, he was planning his Russian expedition, and ruling with an iron rule all who were within his power. Tortosa had NAPOLEON'S PRESENT SUPREMACY.

1809-14. surrendered to him in the preceding November; and now, in June, Tarragona, the last fortress of considerable importance, had been stormed by his troops. By its fall, the Spaniards had lost 20,000 of their best troops; and, far worse, their grand arsenal, and all effectual communication with the British fleets. Napoleon thought himself safe on the side of the Peninsula; and he began to withdraw his forces for his Russian campaign. He oppressed his three brothers so cruelly, that they turned against him. Louis had renounced the crown of Holland to escape from his tyranny. Lucien fled from before his face, and took temporary refuge in England. As for Joseph, while he sat penniless in his palace, unable to offer a dinner to foreign ambassadors, or to the ministers of his kingdom, and scarcely even clothed with decency, it came to his knowledge that his brother was about to dismember the territory of Spain, in order to annex the greater part of it to France, and hold a complete control over the remainder. This was too much; and Joseph, before tried to the limit of his strength, went to Paris in May, and resigned his crown. For once, the Emperor was disconcerted. He spoke his brother fair, and made a private treaty with him, by which Joseph obtained the redress of some of his most exasperating grievances.

Fall of more Cities.

Joseph's Resignation of the Spanish Crown.

Among the rank crop of his successes lay hidden the seeds of Napoleon's reverses. A son was, by this time, born to him. The prospect of this succession roused all Europe to hasten their vengeance on the tyrant. Russia, especially, was thus roused. Alexander had never forgiven the slight passed upon his sister by Napoleon's marriage to an Austrian princess; and the great northern war was brewing. That war was to release British commerce from its fetters; and freedom of commerce was all that England wanted to restore her resources. In scattering the Spanish armies, Napoleon raised up against himself a far more formidable force than he had ever had to meet in the fields where armies clash in battle. There were as many armed Spaniards as ever bent on expelling him from their country. If they could not meet him in the field, much less could he cope with them in the mountains, the woods, the defiles, the starlight roads, where they began to form. Some of the greatest soldiers in Spain had now become Guerilla chiefs: and so many were the bands, that the French were cut down by them by night in the narrow streets of cities, as well as in the remotest forest paths and gullies of the mountains. Armed and clad lightly, and united by a spirit of enterprise, a sense of bitter wrong, and a thirst for vengeance common to them all, these wild warriors harassed the intruders beyond the point of endurance. They cut off the advanced guards of the French, seized their convoys, left them no patrols, shot them down from the crags, came up from the water-courses, rushed out from the thickets, made prisoners of small parties, carried off the guides of larger

Reaction approaching.

The Guerillas.

ones, kidnapped the French couriers, stole their horses, starved their camps, occupied the towns left with small garrisons, and destroyed the villages where the troops would have rested. Dispersing at the first blow, they reappeared at the next difficult point. They could never be counted; and they could never be got rid of. It seemed as if the earth spawned them before the feet of the invaders. On one day, Mina, the great Guerilla chief, took possession of twelve carts laden with silver for the pay of the troops, catching as many as he could of the 600 cavalry which escorted them. On another day, another chief carried off 6,000 muskets, and as many suits of uniform, on their way out of France to the troops in Asturias. One of the Guerilla chiefs, a gentleman whose whole family had been slain before his face, was called L'Empecinado; a title which was heard over all Europe, through the boldness of his deeds. He made Joseph tremble on his throne, by watching Madrid with a body of 8,000 men. No French courier attempted to go the smallest distance without an escort of 200 soldiers at least. Despatches for Paris were sent to the frontier under a guard of 1,400 dragoons. Soon after, it became necessary to detach 3,000 of the troops, whenever any person or letter of importance was to be conveyed from one point to another; and yet, letters were intercepted so abundantly as that the French could rarely keep a secret from the enemy, while they learned little or nothing in return, and knew less than the Spaniards of the intentions and movements of their own leaders and distant bodies of troops. 1809-14.

Again, the provisions of the country became less and less procurable by the French, owing to their habits of rapine, and their established method of making the inhabitants support the soldiery without pay. Every thing portable was snatched from the French who would not pay, and brought to the British who did.—Again, Napoleon was growing restless, and discontented with his generals. We find his rebukes and hasty judgments more frequent, and more harshly expressed, at this time and onwards, than at the beginning of the struggle. It was his doing that Massena made his disastrous march to Torres Vedras and back again; and that Estremadura and Portugal were attacked at the same time: and, when misfortune ensued, he blamed his generals, instead of doubting his own power of judging from a distance. All these things were now working together, as the retrospective observer perceives. We have now to see how the good cause gained upon the bad—by what degrees, and with what checks.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE FRENCH. Alison's History, viii. 293.

In June, 1811, Marshal Bessières wrote thus, from the army, to Paris. It must be premised that "insurrection" here means the warfare carried on under the Guerilla chiefs. "The army of the north," wrote Bessières, "is composed, it is true, of 44,000 men; but, if you unite 20,000 together, all communication ceases, and

1809-14. the insurrection makes great progress. The coast will soon be lost as far as Bilboa. We are destitute of every thing. It is with the greatest difficulty we can live from day to day. The spirit of the country is frightful. The journey of King Joseph to Paris—the retreat from Portugal—the evacuation of the country as far as Salamanca—have elevated their minds to a degree I cannot express. The bands enlarge and recruit daily at all points." At the same time, Wellington was writing, "The loss of Badajoz I consider as by far the greatest misfortune which has befallen us since the commencement of the Peninsular War." The recovery of this fortress—the *point d'appui* of western Spain—was, of course, the first object. But new vexations and impediments were arising. The disastrous effects of the Walcheren expedition extended even into Spain. The reinforcements from England brought the Walcheren fever with them; and as the heats of summer increased, the fever spread till, in October, there were no less than 25,000 men in hospital, of whom 19,000 were British. Multitudes of Portuguese who escaped the sickness dropped back into their own country and native districts. Not more than 14,000 of the whole army could be depended on for service, at the beginning of the new campaign, though the nominal amount of force was 30,000. The French had, at the same time, 40,000 of cavalry alone: and their whole force was about 370,000. It seems wonderful that there should have been any hope for the cause, in the face of so enormous a disproportion of numbers. However and wherever the French armies might be employed, it was certain that at any point where the British might show themselves, treble their numbers might at once be brought up to meet them. The set-off against this was that the forces of the British could keep together, while the French were compelled to dissolve perpetually in search of food. Wellington's great care was to keep open the roads from the respective bodies of his troops back to Torres Vedras, and to place these bodies within reach of constant mutual communication. Another care was to secure the navigable rivers; and even to make portions of the rivers navigable, for the bringing up of stores from the sea. He so contrived this water-carriage, as that even to Badajoz the land-carriage did not exceed 100 miles. In December, 1811, Wellington, who kept on the cautious side in his correspondence, wrote home to his government that the situation of the allies was improving; and that if the Spanish people held out, he believed it was still possible to save them. He went to work to save them, undeterred by the miserable jealousies and faithlessness, amounting to treason, of their generals and their government; by the sickness around him, the embarrassing weakness of the Portuguese regency behind him, and the penury of the government at home, which frustrated his best schemes, by leaving him destitute of money and stores. It saddens the heart to read his

Of the British.

Despatches, viii. 437.

correspondence of this year, through which are scattered expressions which reveal the bitterness and occasional exasperation of his mind. Under this weight of cares, his indomitable spirit braved all impediments, and impelled him to set forth on his magnificent career of victory. 1809-14.

First, in May, he ordered the investment of Badajoz. As soon as ground was broken before it, the French army under Marshal Soult marched on to its rescue. When they came in sight of the valley of the Guadiana, Marshal Beresford withdrew his force from the siege of Badajoz, and went forth to meet the enemy, seeing that there must be a battle before the fortress could be gained. It was on the 15th that the French appeared on the heights of Albuera; and there, on the 16th, the battle was fought. It was a tremendous fight: and so nearly lost by the British, that Beresford was preparing for a retreat, when Colonel (now Lord) Hardinge dared one more retrieving effort, and changed the aspect of the struggle. After such a carnage as can scarcely be equalled in all military history, the mighty mass of the hostile army was driven, as by an avalanche, down the hill, and the remnant of the British stood victors at the top. Of 6,000 who had mounted it, only 1,500 remained on their feet: and the dead and wounded lay heaped on the ridge. Others crowded up from below, and pursued the French, who saved their artillery, but little else. In four hours, 8,000 French, and nearly 7,000 of the allies had been struck down. The distress was so fearful that no one seems to have been certain whether there was victory on either side, till Soult made the matter clear by retreating to Seville, leaving the British to resume the siege of Badajoz. The place was not then taken. The battle of Albuera answered a great purpose in compelling Napoleon to displace his armies, and change his plans: but this again compelled Wellington to raise the siege, and retire into Portugal, early in June. There his sick were nursed, and his resources improved, in preparation for the next advance.

CAMPAIGN OF 1811.

ALBUERA, *May* 16, 1811.

SIEGE OF BADAJOZ RELINQUISHED.

It was on the 8th of January, 1812, that the French won their last great victory in Spain, by the fall of Valencia, in the far east of Spain. It was on the next day that Wellington set forth again, crossing the Agueda, on his way to Ciudad Rodrigo. His late reinforcements did not immediately avail him much; for most of the soldiers who arrived had to go through the Walcheren fever before they were fit for service. Ciudad Rodrigo was so strong that the final storming was fearful: but it availed. The General's order, on the 17th of January, was "Ciudad Rodrigo must be carried by assault this evening at seven o'clock." It was done— first under the faint light of the young moon, and afterwards by the glare of the flames which began to spread in the town: and in the morning the governor yielded up his sword to Mr. (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel) Gurwood, at the gate of the castle. The deed

CAMPAIGN OF 1812.

CIUDAD RODRIGO, *Jan.* 17, 1812

1809-14. was disgraced by the violence and brutality of the soldiery, to whom victory of this kind was new, and thoroughly intoxicating after years of hardships and mortification. This was the great drawback upon the satisfaction of capturing the strong frontier fortress of Spain, with the whole battering train of Marmont's army, and vast stores. As often happened now, Marmont was kept in the dark to the last moment; and had scarcely heard of the British having left Portugal, when the news arrived of the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo. Before he could collect his troops, the British had repaired their fortifications, and laid in provisions for six weeks; and Wellington was secretly maturing his plans against Badajoz.

So secret were his preparations that the Emperor would not believe Marshal Marmont's warnings of the danger, but was positive that it was Salamanca that was threatened. This was, in a manner, true. Wellington meant to have them both: but Badajoz first. His patience was cruelly tried, and a host of lives was afterwards lost, by the timidity and dilatoriness of the Portuguese regency, who caused a delay of six days in crossing the rivers, for want of the means of transport. During those days, the defences had been improved to a degree which rendered the capture of the fortress a work of desperate difficulty. Two thousand men fell, under horrible circumstances, in one ineffectual attempt, before a great beam thick set with sword-blades, which had very lately been fixed in its place, and which made the assailants certain prey to the defenders. Five thousand were killed or wounded before Badajoz: but it was taken, after a siege of nineteen days. On the night of the 6th of April, the brave governor sent out some horsemen, while the drawbridge was yet in his power, to inform Soult of what was happening, and then surrendered the place. During the awful hours of the storming, Wellington stood on one spot, "near the quarries," where the necessary information was brought to him, and whence he issued his orders. No one perceived that he was moved by repeated news of the desperate slaughter of his troops that was going on. He had settled that Badajoz must be carried, and he did not flinch in the doing it. But, the deed achieved, his tears showed what it had cost him. "When," says Napier, "the extent of the night's havoc was made known to Lord Wellington, the firmness of his nature gave way for a moment, and the pride of conquest yielded to a passionate burst of grief for the loss of his gallant soldiers." At the same moment, strange spectacles were seen in the squares and streets. French officers, their wives and children, were besetting the English officers, frantically imploring that protection from the soldiery which it was not possible to afford. While the prisoners stood or fled—their children in their arms, and packets of valuables in their hands, the delirious soldiers masqueraded as monks and friars, or

BADAJOZ *April* 7, 1812.

Peninsular War, iv. 433.

in court-dresses, or any finery that they could lay their hands on. They played antics in the churches, while robbing them of plate and vestments; they carried furniture about in the streets, and got at the military chest. While the dying were groaning in the trenches, and Wellington was mourning his dead, and the officers used every conceivable tone of command and remonstrance, in vain, brutal laughter went up from the streets, mingled with shrieks of fear and agony, and with the crash of doors and windows, and with the hissing of fire, and the report of muskets in the hands of drunken banditti:—for the British soldiers were for two days a drunken banditti. When, on the third day, there was nothing more to be had, the soldiers were at last induced to look to their wounded and dead. Wellington could not yet call his army "a perfect machine." 1809-14.

The final rescue of the Peninsula was owing to this conquest, more than to any other. The stores of guns and ammunition were vast; the prisoners many, and of importance: but it was of more consequence that the maintenance of Badajoz was the chief point of honour with the French, whose three great armies had not prevented their losing their two great frontier fortresses at the outset of the campaign. The Spaniards had made Wellington a grandee of the first class, on the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo: and in England, he was made an earl, with the pension of 2,000*l.* a year. Almost before this was settled, the news arrived of the greater conquest of Badajoz: and this taught men to look for something more. HONOURS TO WELLINGTON.

Soult had come up from Seville, just as he had done when Badajoz was in danger before: but there was now no second battle of Albuera. The horsemen that Philippon, the brave governor, had sent forth, before he lost the drawbridge, met Soult, and gave him news which made him hasten back to Seville with all speed. Wellington longed to follow, and annihilate this branch of the great French force, so that from Badajoz to Cadiz the Spaniards might hold their own again: and it appears that he actually designed this brilliant enterprise. But there was other work for him to do. The authorities had failed in their promises, as usual. They had not provisioned Ciudad Rodrigo; and Marmont, having moved heaven and earth to obtain fifteen days' food for his army, was moving down upon the frontier. He invested Ciudad Rodrigo, and ravaged some districts of Portugal. On Wellington turning his face northwards, Marmont retired to Salamanca: and then there was a pause, occasioned by scarcity. The French could do nothing effectual till the crops became eatable; and the English horses must depend on the green fields for their support: and the fields were as yet not green. Wellington employed the interval in provisioning and strengthening his new conquests, under the dread, as he avowed, of losing them both before Despatches, ix. 43.

1809-14. the summer was over, from the indolence and faithlessness of the native authorities.

Napoleon's Plans. Alison's History, viii. 415 (*note.*)

During this pause, too, Napoleon began to show his intents and humours. He censured his generals, in terms of actual insult, and declared that he would come, and manage the war for himself. Yet, his Russian war was at that time so inevitable, that he was withdrawing his troops from the Peninsula, to serve in the north; and rendering the occupation of Spain somewhat less difficult, as he believed, by annexing a considerable portion of its territory to France. It was one of his unfounded fancies that he should thus render more easy his occupation of Spain. His brother Joseph was exasperated; nobody was pleased: and the 40,000 men that he summoned to go with him to the Niemen were as much wanted in Catalonia, after it was called French territory, as they had been at any time of the war.

Plans of the Generals.

During this pause, too, Soult, as well as Wellington, was making secret preparations for the invasion of provinces. Wellington meant to invade the northern provinces of Spain, and Soult the southern ones of Portugal. Time would show which would be first ready, and therefore soonest free to drive out the other. It was on the 13th of June that Wellington crossed the Agueda, on his way to Salamanca. When he got there, the inhabitants illuminated, and shouted joyful songs. The French were gone (from the town, not from its defences), and the deliverers had come. The forts yielded in a few days; but the dangers of the British had much increased, from the skilful junction of two bodies of French force, while others, and even King Joseph himself, were coming down upon them. Wellington had been expecting the arrival of Lord W. Bentinck from Sicily, with fresh troops, which were to land on the eastern coast, and proceed to aid him, by drawing off the French to that quarter. But Lord W. Bentinck took it into his head to go somewhere else, and try some experiment on the coast of Italy. The experiment failed, and Wellington had no choice but to retreat before his multitudinous foe. At the same time, Lord W. Bentinck had obtained and thrown away 4,000,000 of dollars which Wellington ought to have had from Gibraltar and Minorca, and for want of which he could with difficulty sustain himself from day to day. "Lord William's decision is fatal to the campaign, at least at present," Wellington wrote on the 15th of July. Of course, he retreated, and Marmont followed. After many remarkable movements, a singular spectacle was seen on the 20th. It had been supposed that a pitched battle would take place on that day. The armies faced each other on the opposite banks of the Guarenna: and Wellington had taken his ground, and made his preparations. But Marmont moved on along the heights on his own bank of the river, and the British marched in a parallel line on the opposite heights. The two armies were within musket-

Despatches, ix. 287.

shot of each other, in perfect array, and each with hovering cavalry on the watch against the foe. The French outstripped the British, and Wellington was compelled to surrender the hope of preventing the junction of three bodies of the enemy. 1809-14.

On the 22nd, the British appeared completely hemmed in; and their situation was extremely critical. But Marmont made a mistake—separating his left wing from the centre by too rapid a march. Wellington lifted his glass, and after a keen gaze of a few moments, exclaimed "At last I have them!" He told the Spanish general at his side that Marmont was lost, and gave rapid orders which were to prove his words. Marmont, from a height, saw the danger too, and gave his orders as rapidly as possible: but the British had a shorter distance to move; and they impelled their whole force against the severed and weakened masses of the enemy, and gained the battle of Salamanca. It was dark before the struggle was over; and then, Wellington unfortunately pursued in the wrong direction. But for this, the destruction of the French army must have been complete, and the whole of their artillery have been captured. As it was, their army was perceived, soon afterwards, to have become weakened by one-half. It now retreated to Valladolid: and Joseph drew back towards Madrid. SALAMANCA, *July* 22, 1812.

The news soon reached Madrid, and with it all the hopes and fears attendant on such an event as the British taking possession of the capital. And the British really were coming. They came, when the French inhabitants, and those who had acquiesced in the French occupancy, had escaped from the city in extreme trepidation. On the evening of the 11th of August, long trains of vehicles moved away on the Toledo road; and on the morning of the 12th the eyes of all who remained in Madrid were fixed on the Guadarama road, by which the British were approaching. The entry into the capital was a noble spectacle—with the proud standards, and the martial music, and the march of soldiers who came as deliverers. Then there were illuminations and a speedy submission of the forts, and yielding up of more French artillery, and a grand proclamation of the Spanish constitution in the public squares, and the appointment of a Spanish governor: and while the people of Madrid were thus happy, poor King Joseph was wretched enough—hampered in his flight by the vast crowd of helpless and homeless citizens who clung to him now for aid; because they had accepted him in the day of French supremacy. Wellington could have swept the whole mass into the river; but he let them go whither they would. OCCUPATION OF MADRID. *Aug.* 12, 1812. Napier's History, v. 192.

Meantime, Wellington's position was far less secure than brilliant; and he must lose no time, and spare no energy in maintaining it. He had no means at Madrid which could justify his remaining there: no money came from home; and he knew he need not look for any just at the moment when England was

1809-14. going to war with America. The French were gathering up their forces in the north; and he went forth to find them.

Failure at Burgos. He besieged Burgos, and failed. After thirty days, during which he had lost 2,000 men, and a vast amount of ammunition which he could ill spare, he was obliged to raise the siege, pressed by the concentration of the French forces, for which time had been afforded by the pause before Burgos. The successes of the campaign were over; and it closed in reverses. Madrid could not be held. The scene of the entry was exactly reversed. The inhabitants wept and even wailed: the British troops marched away mournfully by the Guadarama road; and Joseph came in, joyful to see his helpless followers restored to their homes. Then followed the melancholy retreat from Burgos, with its dangers, sins, and miseries. It began with a silent and stealthy night-march over the bridge of the Arlanza, under the guns of the castle. The artillery wheels were muffled with straw, and not a Frenchman would have suspected the retreat till morning, if some of the Spanish light-horse had not lost nerve, and broken into a gallop. The castle-guns fired on the bridge, but no great damage was done; and the gain of that night-march was great. Yet the French infested the retreating army; constant vigilance was necessary; and skirmishes and partial combats were frequent. When the troops passed the wine vaults of Torquemada, they lost all discipline, and 12,000 men were seen drunk at one time. The weather was bad; the means of transport scanty; and the sick and wounded were still on the wrong side the Douro. It was not possible to proceed, in the presence of a fierce enemy; and Wellington carried his force over the Carrion, and there halted, on the 24th of October. He had come little more than fifty miles. Here, the enemy, kept in check by the blowing-up of the bridge, discovered from the English themselves, by an audacious hoax, the ford of the river; and their crossing compelled the British to move on with all speed. Their march was injured and disgraced by terrible disorders. It was necessary to call together all the forces, in order to hold any part of the ground gained: and some came from Cadiz, and more from Madrid, relinquishing the line of the Tagus. These last, under General Hill, showed no better conduct than those they were going to meet. Napier tells us that he himself saw, in one day, the bodies of seventeen murdered peasants — murdered by either British, Spanish, or Portuguese, or all: and drunkenness and rapine disgraced the march.

Evacuation of Madrid.

Retreat.

Napier's History, v. 318.

When Wellington arrived on the ground where he had gained the great victory of Salamanca, he earnestly desired another battle, which should exhibit the issue of the campaign of 1812. He sent away the sick, and chose his ground. If he was defeated, he had only to retreat into Portugal: and if he conquered, he should recover Madrid. At this moment, however, the enemy stole a

march upon him, and crossed the Tormes, rendering a rapid retreat more necessary than ever. The soldiers could not be restrained from shooting down the swine in the woods for food; and there was such a roll of musketry that Wellington thought the enemy were upon him. Even the hanging of two offenders did not stop the disobedience; and the British might now have been an easy prey, if the foe had taken advantage of them. The French captured 2,000 stragglers, but made no attack. The next evening, the 17th of November, they laid hands on General Paget, in a wood, and carried him off. Next, some of the officers proved insubordinate, and tried, out of their fancy, a road which Wellington knew to be impassable. They stopped before a rush of water; and Wellington rode up, uttered one expression of contempt, and led them back to the proper road: but time was lost. But for the scarcity of provisions among the French, which compelled them to halt for a day, the retreating force could hardly have escaped destruction. They struggled on, over swampy plains, past treacherous gullies, and in the face of wintry tempests, and, on the evening of the 18th, bivouacked on the dry hills near Ciudad Rodrigo. From the commencement of the siege of Burgos to this hour, the loss of the Allied Army could not be reckoned at less than 9,000 men: a disastrous close of the campaign which had begun with the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajoz, and the occupation of Madrid. Wellington now addressed to his officers a severe letter of rebuke, in which he declared that his army had fallen off in the late campaign in a greater degree than any army he had ever accompanied or heard of. This letter, published in England, of course was republished at Paris; and the sensation it excited was prodigious. Complaints, evidently just, were made that the censure was general and unqualified; whereas some corps had preserved order and obedience throughout. Allowance should certainly have been made for the extreme protraction of the sufferings of some of the soldiery, and for incidents which had not come to the knowledge of the Commander: and again, allowance should be made for the accumulation of anxieties and irritations that the Commander had to endure alone, and which were more than human temper can be expected to sustain at all times unshaken. The good effects of this plain expression of opinion were, however, visible at the outset of the next campaign. Meantime, Wellington had such command of this part of the frontier, that he could spread his troops among good and safe quarters, gather together his reinforcements, and all needful equipments, and look to the recovery of the sick, and the rest of the weary.

1809-14.

Napier's History, v. 329.

Alison's History, viii. 501 *(note)*.

Just at this time, Parliament was called together, and the Regent's Speech told of peace and friendship with Sweden and Russia, by which the continental markets were again opened to our traders. Napoleon had been to Moscow, and had returned to

NORTHERN WARS OF NAPOLEON.

1809-14. Paris. He had entered Moscow in a mood of high exultation, his imagination being intoxicated with revived visions of oriental conquest, while his eye rested on the cupolas and minarets of the city, its palaces surrounded by gardens, and the Asiatic aspect which it bore from end to end. His soldiery had been half-delirious with joy and hope, while Alexander was making a really sublime appeal to the despair of his subjects, against the conqueror whom he had so lately embraced as a brother, in forgetfulness of the interests of all his other crowned brethren in Europe. Napoleon had been driven out of Moscow by flames, which actually wreathed about his horse as he rushed through the narrow streets: he had hoped to winter among the ruins, and had found it impossible. He had retreated with all the speed that his imperious will could command; but too slow for the soft and silent snow; too slow for the shouting and fierce Cossacks who harassed him all round; too slow for the hardy Russian army, which pressed upon him at every point of difficulty, trampling his men under their horses, thrusting whole regiments into icy rivers, and picking up all his artillery and stores, as he dropped them by the wayside. Such was his plight when Wellington quartered his army for the winter, and when the British Parliament met to consider the state of European affairs. The Invincible was conquered at last. The Invulnerable was wounded at last—not in skin or limb, but in the more tender point of his pride. The tyranny under which it had seemed but too probable that the world would be swept back to the dark ages of military despotism, was broken; and the human race might take breath, and hasten to emancipate itself. The British Parliament had hardly proceeded to business, when the news arrived that Napoleon had returned to Paris, travelling without a suite, and under an assumed title. His language to the Senate was as boastful as usual; but it was too late for such language now. Rumours were all abroad of the nature of the spectacle from which he had fled: and while men were told of the shoals of corpses that were drifting with the ice of the northern rivers, and of the dyeing of the snows of the plains with French blood, and of the circles of frozen soldiers that were left every morning round the extinct fires of the bivouacs, and of the frantic wretches—so lately proud soldiers—who were taken or slain while tearing the flesh of dead horses from the bones, they cared little for fine promises for the future, and big words about the past. The plain truth, which no language could disguise, was that the Russian campaign had cost France and her auxiliaries 450,000 men. It did not, perhaps, soothe the feelings of the people of Paris to know that their Emperor, while the remnant of his army was still weltering in the snows where he had left them, rubbed his hands over a good fire in his palace, and observed to his officers, "This is pleasanter than Moscow." "My army," he coolly announced to the Senate, "has

Alison's History, viii. 732.

Burning of Moscow.

His Retreat

sustained losses; but it was owing to the premature severity of the season." 1809-14.

The British Parliament voted 100,000*l.* to Wellington (now a Marquess), and 200,000*l.* for the relief of the houseless multitude who had been the inhabitants of Moscow. Probably the over-burdened people of England could raise the money with better heart now, from the new hope that had arisen of the downfall of Bonaparte. It was at first rather too precipitate a hope. Our elderly generation must remember the eagerness with which, during that November, men of business hurried home from the post-office, and working men to their dinners, with the news that Bonaparte was so beset that he could not possibly escape; that he was on the point of being taken; and that the next ship must bring news of his capture: and the hearth felt warmer, and its blaze looked brighter, as families sat round it, questioning and conjecturing what would be done with him. The Christmas festivities were rather damped by the news that he was rubbing his hands over the fire at the Tuileries, and boasting of the grand things he meant to do. Still, he had been beaten, and there was hope that the tide had turned.

MORE HONOURS TO WELLINGTON.

NATIONAL HOPE.

The Regent's Speech, presented before the whole extent of Napoleon's adversity was known, expressed confidence that parliament would continue to support the Peninsular war, for the sake of British interests, as well as those of Spain and Portugal. It struck Lord Wellesley, as it did a good many other people, that this was an inadequate view of the importance of the struggle. He was persuaded that Ministers did not estimate their own duty in regard to his "brother Arthur" (as he had proudly called him so long ago): and he spoke his mind with a plainness which the Ministers condemned as bad taste at the time, but which it is now not a little moving to read of. He saw that his brother Arthur's conquests, of the last summer, had been the real basis of the successes in Russia: he felt that they were the heart of Russian enterprise, the central fire of Russian patriotism at the present moment: and the present moment was the time for saying so. The broadest sincerity was, at such a period, the best taste. He asked Ministers whether they had ever proposed to themselves or the nation any definite object in prosecuting the Peninsular war. To him, the object seemed clear enough—to drive out the French. Had any energy been shown in the pursuit of this aim? Should not every effort have been redoubled as Napoleon became engaged in conflict with Russia? Instead of this having been done, his brother had been impeded in every movement, and checked in the midst of every enterprise, by the apathy, or the ill-will, or the helplessness, or whatever it was, that prevented his own government from sending him men, money, stores, and cheering words. "The great general who commanded our armies in Spain," had

Hansard, xxiv. 12.

LORD WELLESLEY'S PLEA.

Hansard, xxiv. 20–32.

1809-14. taken advantage of every accident, as in the instance of the battle of Salamanca: but he should not be made dependent on his own genius and the occurrence of accidents. "Was this ground to build upon? His talents, indeed, were a firm and secure rock on which any hopes, any expectations, however great, however exalted, might be founded: but it ill became statesmen to calculate upon chances and occasions presenting themselves, for success in operations, upon the prosperous issue of which so much depended. Did the Ministry mean to say that their system was raised solely upon the resplendent abilities of a consummate general, and upon the errors of the enemy?" Official men might smile, and carping listeners might sneer at the dignified statesman thus "exceeding the bounds of fraternal eulogy:" but the plain tale that he told, at length, of the vexations inflicted upon Wellington within the last year, as in each preceding campaign, carried conviction to all the best minds. There was a general expectation that more vigorous support would be given from home, as the spirit of hope grew stronger all over the world.

Wellington Commander-in-Chief of Armies in Spain.

Wellington was now not only adorned and enriched with new titles, and grants of money; he was made Commander in-Chief of all the armies in Spain, by desire of the Spaniards themselves, though not without opposition and a natural jealousy on the part of some of the native generals. His own government granted him a ready permission to accept the honour; and he was himself well pleased at this removal of one class of impediments. Cadiz was now free; as the French had been compelled to raise the siege when he was defying their strength in the more central parts of the kingdom. Thus fortified in dignity and command, and conscious of the prodigious weakening of the enemy, he prepared for the campaign of 1813, feeling that it might, and probably would, be the decisive one of the whole war.

1813. Wellington being now Commander-in-Chief of all the armies of the allies in Spain, his business, after quartering his troops, was to provide for the office being rendered a really efficient one. At

Wellington at Cadiz. Annual Reg., 1813, p. 141.

Christmas, we find him at Cadiz, in consultation with the Cortes, by whom a decree was issued, on the 6th of January, defining the powers of commanders, in distinction from those of civil officers, and providing for the maintenance of each army. On the 17th, the Regency appointed to Wellington a sufficient staff to ensure his communication with different portions of his armies. We find him spoken of in Spanish documents as the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and in Portuguese, as the Marquess of Torres Vedras, while the English were learning to call him the Marquess of Wellington.

At Lisbon.

On the 16th of January he appeared at Lisbon, and transacted a good deal of business, amidst such festivities as had rarely been witnessed. The mountains echoed back the roar of cannon, the place was in a blaze with illuminations, and, at the

great theatre, Wellington had probably leisure for his own thoughts while, before his eyes, "Glory, Posterity, and Camoens," were talking about him in the Elysian fields, and presenting each other with scrolls, containing the names of his victories. 1809-14.

In February, the French began to move. They made an attack upon a post in Leon, but failed, and retired. They seemed to be now retiring in various directions, as might be expected after the adversity of their Emperor in Russia. Their "army of the South" was no longer in the south, but drawn together between Talavera, Toledo, and Madrid. Their "army of Portugal" was drawing off, retiring from Valladolid to Burgos, reducing the garrison of Leon, but strengthening the fortress of Bilbao; from which it was concluded that they meant to hold their footing in Spain by means of the strong places at the base of the Pyrenees. In April, the French in Biscay took a post from which they had been twice repulsed. There was some fighting, too, with "the army of the East," under Suchet, in which the French were beaten and driven back by the allies. This was all the activity shown in warfare before the beginning of the summer. Wellington was compelled to wait for reinforcements and equipments, and for the recovery of his sick; and the French were occupied with the marchings and rearrangement of their troops, under the orders of the Emperor. He sent companies of conscripts, and summoned away 1,200 officers and 22,000 soldiers.

CAMPAIGN OF 1813.

FRENCH RETIRE NORTHWARDS.

When the enemy had, for some time, withdrawn from the Tagus to the Douro, Wellington set forth, and reached Salamanca on the 26th of May. From that time till the middle of June, his march was a mere following of the enemy, doing them an occasional mischief, till there was a brief pause before Burgos. Being forced to a decision about holding or vacating the castle, the French retired; crossing, with excellent skill and order, that dangerous bridge over which the British had, last year, stolen in the night. They destroyed, as far as they could, the defences which had cost them so much in the erection, and retired towards the foot of the Pyrenees. The allied army crossed the Ebro, to the west of the French, on the road to Vittoria, where almost the whole mass of the French armies, commanded by King Joseph, took post, on the night of the 19th of June. On the 20th, the two armies were in face of each other, and anticipated a battle the next day.

WELLINGTON PURSUES.

This concentration of the French forces had taken place by the express command of Napoleon. It was rendered necessary, not only by the approach of Wellington, but by the formidable spread of what the Emperor and Joseph called the "insurrection" of the inhabitants throughout the northern provinces. The Guerillas, formed into strong bands, supported the allies; and the country people supported the Guerillas: and the consequence was, that the communications of the invaders were so constantly intercepted,

1809-14. that, while all their plans were known to the enemy, each general was in the dark about all the rest. All chance of concert, and of keeping their own counsel, was lost, unless they met, face to face: so, here they were, collected before Vittoria, occupying the valley of the Zadora, and commanding the passage of the river, from a height in the centre. Here they must fight; for there was no retreat for them into Biscay. They held two fortresses there; but the Guerillas had pressed them southwards with such unremitting energy, occupying all the passes as they went, that no French were left in the province—except the garrisons — and the British ships sailed into all the ports, amidst the joyous shouts of the inhabitants. All the baggage-trains of the French were now collected in the basin of Vittoria, and 70,000 men were placed to protect their removal into France. With the military stores were packed 5,500,000 dollars in cash; and some articles in no way military; the archives and museums of Madrid, and all the valuable paintings—the Titians, Raffaelles, and Correggios, of the southern convents, as well as the Murillos and Velasquez taken from the palaces of the great. All this wealth was so much embarrassment during the halt before Vittoria, if, indeed, it was not the chief compulsion to halt at all in the face of the British. The choice seems to have been between leaving all this baggage to the British, in order to cross the mountains without encumbrance, or having a fight for it. Joseph could not bring himself to endure so shameful a loss; and there was therefore a fight. Two convoys were sent away, by the road to Bayonne; the royal treasure, artillery, and ammunition, of course, remaining with the army.

Alison's History, ix. 757, 758.

After the convoys, well guarded, had been sent off, Joseph's army still amounted to 70,000 men; and he had 150 pieces of cannon. Wellington had 90 guns, and 80,000 men: but of these men 18,000 were Spaniards, and therefore (for his present purpose) inferior troops. In regard to position, the French had greatly the advantage; for the allies had to pass several bridges and streams to get at the enemy. There was, however, only one good road open to the French—the great road to Bayonne; and it was one of difficulty for carriages; while the allies had all Spain behind them. The main object was to turn the French right, obtain possession of the bridge over the Zadora, and thus cut off the retreat by the Bayonne road, while the main body of the allied army brought its pressure to bear in front. This pressure must be borne by not more than 50,000 men; for Joseph had detached 20,000 to keep in check the Biscayan Guerillas, and other possible auxiliaries of the British, who might come down at a critical moment to help the fight. These 50,000 were, however, the choicest of the troops, and prodigiously strong, as has been seen, in guns. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more critical struggle than this must be.

1809-14.

The troops of the allies were in motion at daybreak; and the heights on which the French right rested were won by desperate fighting, in which French, British, and Spaniards, showed equal valour. The central body of the allies found great difficulty at the bridges; but a peasant brought information of one bridge being weakly guarded, and bravely led the way to it, and over it. By one o'clock, some of the British were on the other side; and, after some further struggle, the French began to retreat upon the town; but in excellent order, and with great deliberation, facing about at every favourable point, to renew the conflict. Their destruction was, by this time, approaching from their right, where the gallant old officer, Sir Thomas Graham, was driving them in, and possessing himself of the road to Bayonne. The cry spread among the French that the road was gone, and they were all lost. Still, they retreated in order, keeping up a running fight for six miles, and doing vast damage with the guns in their rear: and it was not till the whole force were driven back, with such of their guns as they had brought off, into the little plain under the walls of Vittoria, that they fairly took to flight. They would have escaped by the rough mountain road to Pamplona; but an overturned waggon was enough, in such a road, to prevent the passage of their guns. Beyond the city was seen a helpless mass of army followers, jammed in with the carriages and animals, and frantic with terror. As the English cannon went booming over their heads, they uttered a horrid dull cry of misery, and swayed to and fro, in mortal panic. Still, eighty cannon remained available; and these, worked by artillery-men, actually mad with excitement, kept up a deafening reverberation among the hills. Before night closed in, these were silenced, and the whole multitude of the French were gone, carrying with them nothing whatever but two guns. No one, from general to camp-follower, had any thing left but the clothes he wore; and most of them were bare-footed. Yet, the loss of life on the French side was small. The soldiery complained that they had no fair chance; and, in truth, they were ill commanded. The British themselves declared that their enemy was not half beaten. There they were, wandering in marshes, and rocky passes, stripped of every thing, even to the warrants for their pay; their colours lost; their honour gone; and they able and willing to have made a better stand, if allowed! Their enemy, even in the midst of victory, pitied them. On their side, about 6,000 fell; on the side of the allies, a little above 5,000 killed, wounded, and missing — chiefly British. Of the money, not one dollar ever reached Wellington's head-quarters. Even officers were seen contending with the soldiers for the cash.

VITTORIA, *June* 21, 1813.

Napier's History, v. 561.

Ib., v. 566.

RETREAT OF THE FRENCH.

King Joseph and his troops pushed on night and day towards Pamplona, toiling through the mud of the valleys, under rain, and amidst grievous hardships. They could not stop to destroy the

1809-14. bridges, knowing that the British were at their heels; so they burned the villages as they passed. On the 23rd, Joseph halted, and sent orders to the French frontier, to prepare food and comfort for his fugitives. He despatched a force to the Bidassoa—the old boundary river; and forwarded the main body of his soldiers to Pamplona, where he followed them on the 24th. So ragged, jaded, hungry, and excited, was his miserable army, that the governor of Pamplona dared not admit them into the town; and Joseph found them bivouacked outside. The British were so near that they this day captured one of the two guns that the French had carried off. Joseph continued his flight the next day, up the valley of Roncesvalles, and the British invested Pamplona. Joseph sent back a division of his army to hold the valley of Bastan, in order to keep some footing over the frontier: but they were presently driven out; and the whole frontier line, from Roncesvalles to the junction of the Bidassoa with the sea, was held by the allies.

Western frontier clear

Wellington had had time to consider and aid the ladies of the French officers, and other helpless creatures who had fallen into his hands. He sent the officers' wives forward in their own carriages to Pamplona. What became of the poodles, parrots, and monkeys, the laces, trinkets, and costly dresses, which were found scattered over the field, on the night of the 21st, probably no one can tell. There is a Correggio (Christ in the Garden) now hanging up in Wellington's house, which was found in Joseph's carriage, the moment he had leaped out of it, and sprung on horseback, to escape capture, that evening. Marshal Jourdan's baton was also taken. On the 27th, the last of the French left Madrid; and the whole of Spain, as far as the Ebro, was cleared of the invaders. Immediately before the battle of Vittoria the calm of Wellington's mind was so little disturbed by the approach of the crisis, that he addressed a full and clear memorial to the Cortes, pleading for an amnesty for those of the Spaniards who had acquiesced in the occupation of their country by the French. He clearly saw the mischief and misery of any indulgence by the Cortes of vindictive feeling; and he no less distinctly felt for the weakness and discouragement of the luxurious classes of a nation in the presence of invaders supposed to be irresistible. While those for whom he pleaded were still in the ranks of the French army, he thought of them with compassion, and of their position with a circumspection at once politic and humane. Now that they were left behind in their own country, he did his best to enable them to slink home unmolested, and fancy themselves Spanish patriots again, as soon as they could.

And Madrid.

Despatches, x. 430.

Failure at St. Sebastian.

A few French strongholds remained to be reduced; Pamplona, and St. Sebastian and Santona on the coast. The final efforts on both sides were hard, and attended with fluctuating fortune. An

attack on St. Sebastian, on the 24th of July, was disastrous to the British, who, after a bloody repulse, were obliged to display a flag of truce, in order to save their wounded from being drowned by the rising tide. The noble-hearted French governor, Rey, responded to this by drawing up the wounded over his defences, and placing them in his hospitals. As soon as Wellington heard of the disaster, he hastened to the place. He would have renewed the attack, but for the want of ammunition which ought to have arrived from England before that time. Failing this, he converted the siege into a blockade—it being of the utmost importance to stop the intercourse which had been going on between the port of St. Sebastian and the French coast. The blockading force suffered some disasters; and, while it was before the fortress, the enemy had some successes above Pamplona. They drove the allies down the valley of Roncesvalles, almost to the walls of Pamplona. The tide turned, however; and once more the French were pushed up towards their frontier, by prodigious efforts, made in Wellington's presence, and by Spanish troops among others—all equally distinguishing themselves. They had a more formidable enemy than the expelled King Joseph to deal with now; Napoleon having made Marshal Soult Commander-in-Chief of all his forces in Spain, and of the southern provinces of France. 1809-14.

On the 30th of July, Saragosa surrendered to the Guerilla chief, Mina. Lord W. Bentinck could not take Tarragona, in the face of the overpowering force in which the French under Suchet came up against him: but as it was necessary for the French to retire, they themselves blew up the works; which answered very well the purposes of the allies. Towards the end of August, Wellington observed that the French were gathering all their forces to one point—obviously for some important effort. He was as well aware as they were of the value of St. Sebastian to them, and was accordingly prepared for their effort to relieve the fortress. The French charged the Spanish and Portuguese forces repeatedly, over the boundary river, the Bidassoa; and they were so repulsed that they drew off behind the screen of a violent storm. The town of St. Sebastian was taken by storm on the last day of August: but the castle still held out. The garrison was daily thinned by the British fire; and still the gallant Rey held out. His opponent, however, was equally gallant—the venerable Sir Thomas Graham. He was employing every hour in preparing his batteries for the final assault of the castle. On the 8th of September, these batteries opened their fire; and the weakened garrison could not sustain it. In three hours, they hoisted a flag of truce, and a capitulation was soon agreed upon. The garrison remained prisoners of war—as in every case of capture of these frontier fortresses, because it would have been mischievous to allow the hovering French armies to be reinforced by the veteran soldiers

SARAGOSA TAKEN BY MINA.

ST. SEBASTIAN, *Sep.* 8, 1813.

1809-14. of their best garrisons. The "northern Gibraltar," as St. Sebastian was called, was thus transferred from the hands of the invaders to those of the deliverers of Spain; and it was to each a possession of the highest value. Sir George Collier, who assisted, from the sea, in its capture, described its being held by the British as essential to the conclusion of the war. The slaughter before St. Sebastian was severe; but it is infinitely more painful to read of the subsequent transactions within it. The brutality of the victors converted that sandy peninsula into the very heart of hell. The historian tells us how at Ciudad Rodrigo, there had been drunkenness and plunder, and at Badajoz, in addition to these, lust and murder: but now, to all these was added devilish cruelty—cruelty "which staggers the mind by its enormous, incredible, indescribable barbarity." The sickening hearts of brave men told them that it was time the war was over, as every conquest plunged the men who made up the "perfect machine" of Wellington's army deeper into devilishness. On the 9th, the Governor marched out, with the remnant of his men, graced by the honours of war. The Spanish flag was hoisted, after a siege of 63 days, and immediately the stormy autumn weather came on, under which no blockade could have been sustained from the sea on that exposed coast.

Napier's History, vi. 205.

Wellington Enters France, Oct. 7, 1813.

Wellington entered France before Spain was wholly freed. Pamplona still stood out when the allies, under Wellington, crossed the Bidassoa, on the 7th of October. Soult knew not what to expect—whether Wellington meant merely to protect the investment of Pamplona, or whether he would cross the frontier. The last thing he dreamed of was that the British would cross the Bidassoa at its mouth—amidst shifting sands and tides, in unsettled weather, when a better way over was in their possession. This, however, was what Wellington designed and did. He had been shown, by Spanish fishermen, three fords unknown to Soult's army; and these in addition to the known fords and bridges, enabled him to send over seven columns at once. He had left his tents all standing: so that the French suspected nothing (being moreover occupied with a storm which fell on them from behind) till the allies were actually making the passage. Not a shot was fired on the French side till the allies were formed on the right bank of the river.

Here was Wellington out of Spain again! He had entered it from Portugal, whence he had driven the French before him; and he now left it for France, still driving the French before him. There was some wonder at the time why he aimed at making a lodgment in France while Pamplona still held out. He did it by desire of the northern allies, now advancing on the German side. They conceived that it would strengthen the heart of the world if France were actually invaded: and Wellington made the attempt—formidable as it was to him at that time. There were three

days of fighting, at the end of which the allies were in possession of the hill fortifications with which the French had been long and assiduously protecting their frontier. Once more, both the great generals were grieved and annoyed by the brutality of the soldiery. Soult shot a captain of some reputation for having permitted his men to plunder; and Wellington arrested and sent to England several officers, issuing a proclamation in which he declared that he would not invade France with five times his number of men, if he could not guard against marauding. 1809-14. Napier's History, vi. 268.

At present, he paused. He could not think of crossing the Adour, and was doubtful whether he could maintain his new position, if the allies in Germany did not obtain a decisive advantage, and if Pamplona did not speedily fall. Pamplona did fall, almost immediately. On the 26th of October the garrison proposed conditions which were refused; and on the 31st they surrendered as prisoners of war. The whole of this part of Spain was now clear of the enemy; and Wellington's right, hitherto detained by the blockade of the fortress, was at liberty for other service. Thus reinforced, the British resumed the offensive against Soult, and in the course of a November day drove back the French beyond the Nivelle, compelled them to evacuate their own great works at St. Jean de Luz, and left them no rest till they reached their fortified camp before Bayonne. The gallant Soult contended well. When half the allied army had crossed the river Nive in order to command the navigation of the Adour, and cut off Soult's supplies from the country, Soult fell upon the half that remained on the left bank; and it was hard work to maintain the ground. Aid came from over the river, and once more Soult was driven back, amid the rains and mud of December. In the night, there was an extraordinary commotion in the British camp—drums beating, and drawing up of battalions, and arms presented. Three German regiments had come over to the British—having heard, no doubt, of the new prospects of freedom that were opening on their own country. Their officers quoted the commands of their prince, secretly conveyed to them: and the occurrence of this night was immediately reported by French and English to their respective commanders in Catalonia, where some German regiments were in Suchet's force. Suchet had been already warned, and had disarmed his German soldiers—at a time when he could ill spare the services of some of his best troops. These incidents show how rapidly the tide of Napoleon's fortunes was now turning: and the end of the campaign of 1813 must have sorely mortified him. His Commander-in-Chief of the south was cooped up with his army in an entrenched camp before Bayonne, cut off from all supplies but such as came by land carriage across the dreary plains that stretched north to Bordeaux; while the allies spread themselves out in comfortable cantonments, on ground which had been won

PAMPLONA TAKEN, *Oct.* 31, 1813.

ACCESSION OF THREE GERMAN REGIMENTS.

THE ALLIES IN FRANCE.

1809-14. by a severe sacrifice in killed and prisoners, but which now secured the fruits of the whole campaign. The Allies had on their right one of the most fertile districts of France; and they held the rivers which brought down the produce. On their left they had the sea; and their own vessels now began to crowd the ports, bringing them whatever they wanted. The soldiers behaved well in quiet seasons; and the peasants found themselves so well treated and paid, that they came to market more regularly than they had ever done before. A strong liking for the British was now added to the growing dislike of Napoleon and his exactions in the minds of the peasantry. The conscripts in Soult's camp stole away, and went home by thousands; and there was little zeal for their Emperor now left among the inhabitants of this portion of his kingdom of France. Great efforts were required on the part of the English government, and much self-denial on that of the troops, to keep up this system of honourable payment. But it was done, though the army was left seven months in arrear, and the authorities under a load of debt in the Peninsula.

1814. When the English government found that the sum of 100,000*l.* a month, which it cost them infinite trouble to raise, went but a little way towards Wellington's necessities, they proposed to him to leave his new conquests, take ship with his forces, and pass round to join the northern allies in the Netherlands. It was the Emperor of Russia who suggested this. Wellington's obedience was ready, as usual; but he showed reasons for concluding that he was more useful where he was. He was probably unaware that one of the French officials was writing about that time from Bayonne, "The English general's policy, and the good discipline he maintains, do us more harm than ten battles. Every peasant wishes to be under his protection." His army was now prodigiously strong—amounting, through various reinforcements, to 100,000 men, when he set forth for the final campaign. Soult's force was so weakened by the Emperor's needs, that, after deducting the troops left in garrison, he had not more than 40,000 to bring into the field. It seemed imprudent at such a moment to stop short of his overthrow, and to enable him to release his garrisons, and repair to the Emperor with such a reinforcement: so Wellington was allowed to complete his work in his own way. Just at the same time, Soult urged Napoleon to allow him to come to his aid against the northern allies, as he could do nothing more against Wellington. He advised that Bayonne should be left with 14,000 men in garrison; and that a small French force should harass the British and Spanish from the passes of the Pyrenees, while he drew back to a more promising scene of conflict. But Napoleon could not yet endure the idea of giving up any thing; and he commanded Soult to hold his position near the Adour. With the con-

Alison's History, x. 303.

Napier's History, vi. 507.

Ib., vi. 512-514.

flict about this position—that is, about the possession of Bayonne —the last campaign began, on the 14th of February, 1814. The British army and its commander had every reason to go forth with bold and light hearts. The greetings from their country had been such as might cheer any spirit. Parliament had met at the close of the year—full in numbers, joyful in spirit, and more nearly unanimous than perhaps any parliament had ever shown itself before. Above all names praised was that of Wellington; above all the armies congratulated and cheered on, was that of the Peninsula. Men who had never been eloquent before were eloquent now, and there was new fire in the oratory of the finest speakers. Some of them pointed out how mighty had been the fame of Napoleon's great marshals, Massena, Marmont, Jourdan, and Soult; how persuaded the whole world had been that they were invincible: yet our Wellington had forced Massena out of Portugal, beaten Marmont at Salamanca, routed Jourdan at Vittoria, and overcome Soult on his own French ground, where he might be expected now to annihilate the enemy's force, and bring the war to a conclusion on that side. The newspapers had before told of the illuminations in London growing more and more frequent, as the tidings of Wellington's victories came thicker and thicker; and of the display of the captured French eagles in Downing Street, and of the popular enthusiasm rising from day to day; and it was with the knowledge of this national sympathy and admiration, that the troops under Wellington set forth over the frozen roads, on the 14th of February, hoping to send home some news for parliament to rejoice over, before its meeting (after a long adjournment) in March. At this time, however, the troops of the allies in Catalonia were paralyzed, when just about to take their last measures against Suchet, and, as they hoped, drive out the last of the French from Spain. An envoy arrived from the captive Ferdinand, with the news that Ferdinand and Napoleon had made a treaty, and that the Spaniards might not fight the French any more, nor permit the English to do so on their soil. Ferdinand had been a prisoner at Valençay for five years and a half; and during that time he had, by his own account, known nothing of what was doing in Spain, but from the French newspapers. The notion uppermost in his little mind at this time appears to have been that the Cortes and the liberal party in Spain were "Jacobins and infidels," and that it was all-important that he should return, to restore absolutism and the Inquisition. In sending to Spain the treaty he had made with Napoleon, he took no notice whatever of the Cortes, but addressed himself solely to the Regency: and with them, his business was to consult whether he should adhere to the treaty or break through it; which he might easily do on the plea that it was an extorted act, agreed to under deficient knowledge of the state of Spain. Thus crooked was the policy, even at the moment of restoration, of

1809-14.

JOY IN ENGLAND.

NAPOLEON'S TREATY WITH FERDINAND.

1809-14. the foolish prince who seems to have had no ability for any thing but mean and petty intrigue.

The terms of the treaty might easily be anticipated from the circumstances under which it was made. Napoleon wanted to shake out the British from his south-western quarter; he was in great need of the veteran French troops who were prisoners in Spain: and he had no longer any hope of restoring his brother Joseph.

Alison's History, x. 41.

The treaty of December, 1813, therefore provided that Ferdinand and his successors should be recognised as monarchs of Spain and of the Indies: that the territory of Spain should be what it had been before the war—the French giving up any hold they had there: that Ferdinand should maintain the integrity of this territory, clearing it completely of the British: that France and Spain should ally themselves to maintain their maritime rights against England: that all the Spaniards who had adhered to King Joseph should be reinstated in whatever they had enjoyed under him: that all prisoners on both sides should immediately be sent home: and that Joseph and his wife should receive large annuities from Spain.

The General of the Spanish forces in Catalonia, Copons, was in so much haste to conclude a separate armistice for himself, with Suchet, without any regard to his British comrades, that the Cortes had to act with the utmost rapidity to prevent it. Since the Cortes had invested themselves with executive, as well as legislative power, the Regency had become a mere show: and now, when the Cortes instantly quashed the treaty, the Regency followed the example. On the 8th of January, the Regency let his Majesty know how much he was beloved and desired; but also, how impossible it was to ratify any act done by him while in a state of captivity. As Napoleon could not get back his troops from Spain in this way, he tried another. He released some of Ferdinand's chief officers, and sent them to him, with advocates of his own, to arrange about an end to the war, and exchanging prisoners; and General Palafox, one of the late captives, went to Madrid, where, however, he met with no better success than his predecessor. By that time (the end of January) it was settled that the Spanish treaty, whatever it might be, was to be framed under the sanction of the Allies, at the Congress of Chatillon. With the hope of paralyzing the Spanish forces by division, Napoleon sent Ferdinand back to Spain. He went through Catalonia, and arrived in his own dominions on the 24th of March. The French general Suchet escorted him along part of the route, and, in delivering him over to an exclusively Spanish suite, endeavoured to obtain in return the deliverance of the French garrisons of Lerida, Gerona, and several other fortresses which had yielded during the month of February, and of several which had not yet yielded; but General Clinton knew well that, by such an agreement, he should

Its Rejection in Spain. Despatches, xi. 480.

Intrigues in Catalonia.

be merely sending 20,000 of Napoleon's best troops against Wellington; and he retained them prisoners of war. 1809-14.

These intrigues and negotiations caused extreme vexation to Wellington. They suddenly stopped every attempt to expel the French from Catalonia, and threatened to bring into the field against him all the prisoners he had left behind him in Spain: and there was no saying how the winding-up of the war might be delayed or injured by the political quarrels which were sure to break out whenever Ferdinand and the Cortes came into collision. The best part of the nation was pledged to the Constitution framed and sworn to in 1812: and every body knew that Ferdinand would never cordially agree to any such constitution. Wellington had hoped that the war might be concluded, and the British be freed from their engagements with Spain, before the collision took place; but now it seemed that he was to be troubled with political disorder, and probably civil war, in his rear, in the country which he had saved, while there was yet a French army before his face. He therefore lost no time: and the war was over before Ferdinand entered Madrid. It was on the 14th of May that he entered Madrid, his carriage drawn by the populace. As he went through the city on foot, to show his confidence, the people cheered him. They were aware of some suspicious arrests, but were willing to hope that they were merely precautionary. Then followed the complete restoration of the religious orders to the predominance which had been found intolerable before; the abolition of the Cortes; and the re-establishment of the Inquisition. The Constitution had been rejected by the King before his entry into Madrid. In a few weeks, the whole country was distracted with discontent and fear; and, in a few months, the prisons of Madrid were so overflowing with state prisoners—ninety being arrested on one September night—that convents were made into prisons for the safe-keeping of the King's enemies. Patriots were driven into the mountains, and became banditti, while Ferdinand was making arrests right and left, coercing the press, and ceremoniously conveying to the great square, to be there burned in ignominy, the registers of the proceedings of the late Cortes.

CAMPAIGN OF 1814.

Ann. Reg., 1814, p. 70.

FERDINAND AT HOME.

Ann. Reg., 1814, p. 78.

Though the Spanish authorities had refused to liberate the French garrisons, Suchet contrived to dismiss 10,000 veterans to France, during the negotiations; and he then stole away himself, with his remaining 14,000, which should never have been allowed to leave Catalonia, by the rugged roads, and rocky defiles, where it would have been easy to have stopped them. Having got clear off, Suchet and his army halted at Narbonne, whence he could at any time reinforce Soult. It is thought that if he had at once gone to join Soult, Wellington's position must have been a critical one. He must have relied on a series of victories, or been compelled to a long and difficult retreat. Whether it was that Suchet

CATALONIA EVACUATED BY THE FRENCH.

1809-14. did not wish to put himself under Soult, and mix the veteran forces of Catalonia with Soult's unsteady conscript regiments; or whether he feared that the Austrians, now in possession of Lyons, and of several posts beyond it, would come down to prevent his junction with Soult, we know not: but, however it was, he did not appear to take his part in the short campaign.

Orthez, *Feb.* 27, 1814. On the 27th of February, Wellington beat Soult at Orthez; and the conscripts so little liked this taste of war, that, during the subsequent retreat, they threw away their arms, and fled in crowds. Wellington pushed on, over the Adour, and cut off Bayonne from all hope of aid from Soult. The place was invested by a division under Sir John Hope; and two other divisions, under Marshal Beresford, were sent on to Bordeaux. They were safe enough there, and heartily welcomed; for Bordeaux was the head-quarters of the Royalists. The gates were thrown open to the British, and the Mayor and inhabitants declared for the restoration of the Bourbons, and proclaimed Louis XVIII. Wellington was made to bear the blame of this rash act, at the very time that the royalists were complaining that his officers damped their cause: but neither Wellington nor his officers thought it any part of their business to provide a sovereign for France, before the throne was vacant. They neither instigated nor shared in the movement at Bordeaux. At least, we know that Wellington did not, and that he laid his commands on his officers, that they should not expose any Frenchman to danger by instigating him to any kind of political action.

Bayonne invested.

Bordeaux entered.

Despatches, xi. 558.

Soult's Movements. At this time, the forces of the two generals were nearly equal, as to numbers; for Wellington's army was reduced by 24,000 and upwards, since he had sent off the divisions for Bayonne and Bordeaux. But he had all the advantage, in regard to the spirit of his men. The French troops sank into so much depression that their General issued a counter proclamation, which produced considerable effect in increasing hatred of the British, and ardour for the Emperor's cause. While the impulse was fresh, Soult endeavoured to capture the Bourbon nobles assembled at Pau; but he was intercepted. This was on the 13th of March. He then hoped to obtain some advantage by attacking a part of the British force, while the Adour separated it from the rest. But Wellington was on the watch, and brought up such a force—having sent for reinforcements from Spain—that the enemy withdrew. Soult now sent forward his unsteady conscript regiments at once to Toulouse, and followed as fast as he could with safety—the British being at his heels all the way. His aim was to take up a strong position on the favourable ground near Toulouse. Several fights occurred by the way, the most serious of which was that of Tarbes, on the 20th of March, in which the French were put to flight. Soult increased his speed, and, by prodigious efforts, reached Toulouse in

Tarbes, *March* 20.

NAPOLEON

Engraved by W. Holl.

From a Picture by F. Gerard
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four days. On the 25th, his army was in position before the city. There they had rest. Wellington was now on the watch for the arrival of Suchet, from Narbonne. The necessary vigilance, on this account, and the weight of his artillery and pontoon-trains, delayed him; so that it was the 27th before he spread out his army in face of the enemy. 1809-14.

Eager as he was to beat Soult before Suchet came up, it was many days before he could attack the enemy. The broad and rapid Garonne ran between the armies; and the French had the command of all the best passages of the river. It was on the 9th of April that the last of Wellington's troops stood on the right bank. Napoleon had abdicated on the 4th; and it is lamentable that this was not known to the generals in time to save the lives that were sacrificed on the 10th—the day of the great final conflict—the battle of Toulouse. TOULOUSE, *April* 10, 1814.

Soult and his best troops had never fought better than here; and till past the middle of the day, their success appeared almost certain. After that, they relinquished some of their posts to the British; but none supposed the battle concluded—only suspended for the night. The French had so repaired their stores and their strength during the night as to be ready for another struggle on the 11th; but Wellington was not prepared. It was evening before the ammunition came up, and the arrangements were duly made. Soult had written to Suchet about the necessity of a retreat, sooner or later, however this battle might turn out, for he had been aware, for four days, of the entry of the Allies into Paris; and he gave directions for effecting a junction some way to the east, for the purpose of drawing the British away from Bordeaux. While completing his preparations on the 11th, Wellington sent out his cavalry to interrupt the communication with Suchet, and command the road by which Soult meant to retreat. It appeared to Soult that he must move now, if he would avoid being shut up in Toulouse: and he drew off his troops in excellent order, marched 22 miles without stopping, cutting down the bridges as he went, and, on the 12th, established his army at Villefranche. This retreat was a surrender of the claim of victory at Toulouse, about which there might otherwise have been some reasonable dispute. On both sides, the loss was very severe, the valour great, and the fluctuations remarkable. At night, Soult had a free choice where to place himself, and means of renewing the conflict: and again, the English were left in possession of new ground, and of all the means of harassing the enemy as before. When Soult left Toulouse and his wounded soldiers to their mercy, and made a retreat by a forced march, he might be considered as yielding up the victory. Napier's History, vi. 648-651. SOULT'S RETREAT.

Wellington entered Toulouse in triumph; and the adherents of the Bourbons hung out the white flag. In the afternoon came two messengers—one Englishman and one Frenchman, with the tidings NEWS OF NAPOLEON'S ABDICATION.

1809-14. of the abdication of Napoleon. They had been detained near Blois, by some officials of the court of the Empress; and that delay had cost the lives of 8,000 men. Even on the 13th, Soult would not trust the news so far as to give up his preparations for another struggle. Faithful to his Emperor to the last moment, he would not yield till desired to do so by due official notification. Suchet put on the white cockade almost before he was asked. Elsewhere, the news did not spread fast enough; and blood was shed at Barcelona, Bayonne, and other places, before it was known that the Peninsular War was at an end.

Return of the Army. The Portuguese and Spanish troops returned home. The British infantry took ship at Bordeaux, some for home, and some for America, where our war with the United States was now going on. The cavalry marched through France, and embarked from Boulogne.

Of Wellington. Wellington appeared in Paris among the allied Potentates, being appointed ambassador from England. It was a stage on his way home at the close of the struggle on which he had entered, amidst the despair of many of his countrymen, when he landed at Lisbon on the 22nd of April, 1809.

CHAPTER VII.

1812-15.

IT was, as has been observed, no easy task to govern the country, on the death of Mr. Perceval, in May 1812; and it was also found no easy matter to induce any set of men to undertake it, except those who were not judged by the country to be competent. At this time, the Luddites were a sufficiently formidable enemy at home: and the manufacturers were demanding, more and more vehemently, the repeal of the Orders in Council—strong as was the apprehension that the repeal would come too late to prevent a war with America. Napoleon had hardly yet begun to fail in any of his schemes on the side of Germany, nor Wellington to succeed in the Peninsula. Under such circumstances, there was delay and difficulty in settling the Administration, while our quarrel with America required instant attention, and all the wisdom of the wisest Cabinet, to avert the danger of war.. The attention was not given; there was no wise Cabinet to manage the affair; and so we went to war with America—plunged into a contest as purposeless, as foolish, as unnecessary, as it was ill-managed, useless, and, merely as war, discreditable to us. During its progress, we find recorded incessant arguings as to what the war was about: whether about the Orders in Council or the Right of Search; and again, what about either: and the war ended without the settlement of any question that had been proposed. It was no great wonder if our arms won no new glory in that war: for what war cry could be devised in such a case? In Europe, there was always the true and strong plea to be urged upon every man that the liberties of Europe were in danger from the aggressions of a military despot. In America, there was really nothing to be said to the soldier of any rank, to warm his heart and rouse his spirit. The warfare, naturally, never rose higher than the mere doing as much mischief as possible on both sides.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

During the former American war, the manufacture of woollens had been set up, on the small scale then suitable to the population, in the United States. After the peace, there had been very large importations from England, and the domestic manufacture had not expanded. It was, in fact, only that making of home-spun fabrics in rural districts which was not, at that time, wholly obsolete in our own country. After the operation of our Orders in Council

THE NORTHERN STATES OPPOSED TO THE WAR.

1812-15. began to be felt, the inhabitants of the New England States devised means for rendering their country independent of us in regard to the clothing of their navy, and other classes to whom it was not convenient to spin at home. Several companies were formed, in Massachusetts particularly, for the manufacture of woollen cloths; to which the manufacture of cotton was afterwards added. Since the embargo of 1807 (which was repealed, without perceptible advantage, in 1809), and the interruption of commercial relations with Europe, the manufacture had largely increased, especially in Massachusetts; and at the time of the peace in 1815, we find that twenty-four companies were incorporated in that state alone. The dread of war entertained by the parties concerned in this branch of industry was extreme. They had no belief that any war that could be carried on between England and themselves could throw open the commerce of Europe, and extinguish their manufacture. It was not that that they dreaded; but the interruption of business at home. They did not see why the European powers should not be left to manage their own quarrels, while the United States quietly cultivated their own resources, and raised up an inter-state trade; the southern States exchanging their agricultural products for the manufactures of the north. There was a standing charge against Jefferson of favouring the French, in hatred of England; and the charge was extended to Madison, now President. He was described in the northern newspapers, and even in northern legislatures, as the tool of Napoleon in his designs against England. The war was declared useless, uncalled for, and detrimental to every body's interests: and it was clear from the beginning that there would be no concert between the general Government and the governments of the New England States about the defence of the coast, the calling out of the militia, and the appropriation of United States' troops. There would be the burden of war-taxes, without any adequate defence to the commercial States. The men would be called away from the mill and the loom; and the factory would be stopped as certainly as the tillage on the farms; and at the same time, the fisherman on the granite shore would not be allowed to put out to sea, nor the small coasters to carry produce from port to port. And so it turned out. The townsmen had to pay heavily while their earnings were stopped. The villagers dared hardly go to their fields in the day, or lose themselves in sleep at night, for fear of the prowling and howling Indians, with their tomahawks and scalping knives—the detestable allies of the British. During the next autumn, when the purple seas were lapsing among the amethyst islands in the bays of Massachusetts, under the most golden atmosphere in the world, the fishermen lay idle among the barberry bushes, seeing their boats laid up on the rocks, and the silvery shoals of fish floating by—because of the interdict to leave the shore on any pretence whatever, lest the

Bradford's History of Massachusetts, p. 415.

Ib., p. 394.

British cruizers should profit by the capture of their cargoes. There was little promise of successful warfare where all the citizens deprecated the war. The war was, in fact, supported by the animus of the Southern States, where the war spirit is always kept up by the institution of slavery, and there was no commerce to be put to hazard, no Canada at hand to pour down British soldiery upon undefended districts, and no Indian foes to exercise at once the cunning of men and the ferocity of wild beasts. The successive Presidents were Virginians, and the Southern States had the preponderance in Congress; and war was popular there. In April, a Secret Committee organised preparations for war: and on the 29th of May, while England was aghast at the murder of her Prime Minister, a vote was taken in Congress on the expediency of a war with England, which showed that conflict was inevitable, unless England should immediately repeal the Orders in Council.

1812-15.

THE SOUTHERN STATES IN FAVOUR OF WAR.

Ann. Reg., 1812, p. 196.

In England, however, there was at that time, in fact, no government. Five several attempts to form a government, in consequence of the death of Mr. Perceval, failed, after the loss of precious days in negotiation. Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning were more than ever the only two strong men. They were asked to join the Perceval Cabinet. As there was to be no change on the Catholic question, and as Lord Castlereagh was to remain Foreign Secretary, this was, of course, impossible. Then, Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning were requested to form a government. They invited Lords Grenville and Grey, announcing that the two great objects were to be Catholic Emancipation and the vigorous prosecution of the Peninsular War. But Lords Grenville and Grey were pledged against the prosecution of the Peninsular war. The Regent seized on this as a failure, and desired an attempt in another direction. Two more mixed measures were found to be impracticable: when a fifth negotiation seemed likely to succeed. Lords Grenville and Grey were desired to undertake the business on their own terms; and every body supposed there was to be a Grenville Ministry, when a difference arose between the two Lords and Lord Moira about the appointment to Household offices. The arrangements were once more broken off. By this time, it was the middle of June. On the 17th, Sheridan was to explain in the House of Commons the affair of the Household appointments; but he was taken ill and stopped. On the 19th, he told his story; but, on the 18th, the American Government had made its Declaration of War. In the House and in the streets, it was whispered, meanwhile, that the Ministry were quite undecided about the Orders in Council, and that their repeal might take place any day. The Duke of Norfolk had been told so by the Regent. On the 16th, Mr. Brougham brought forward his motion for the entire repeal of the Orders; and to the amazement of every body, the Ministers gave them

DIFFICULTY ABOUT A GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND.

Memoirs of Ward, i. 483-487.

REPEAL OF THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL.

1812-15. up, shabbily and awkwardly, but without any attempt at real opposition. The pretence was a French decree which every body knew to be a forgery. At a meeting at Lord Castlereagh's, when it was urged that the decree was a forgery, Lord Castlereagh's answer was, "Aye, but one does not like to own that we are forced to give way to our manufacturers." Thus was the policy of England managed in 1812.

Life of Wilberforce, iv. 35.

Under the same management it continued for ten years from this time, without any change in the principal offices of the government. Lord Liverpool now became Prime Minister; and he filled that post for fifteen years. The country was now to witness a long pause in that troublesome part of political business—the formation of a Cabinet. It was in June, 1812, that Lord Liverpool became Premier; and it was in February, 1827, that he was struck down by fatal illness. Here, then, we take leave of the troublesome subject of Cabinet-making, for a long course of years.

As for the Orders in Council, there was still hope among our suffering manufacturers that when the news of the repeal reached America, the project of war might be relinquished; but by that time, men's minds were made up, appropriations had been voted, and the invasion of Canada determined on.

Declaration of War.

It was on the 1st of June that the President had sent down his Message to Congress, detailing at length the injuries which Great Britain had inflicted on the interests of the United States. The two Houses deliberated with closed doors, and, on the 18th, passed an Act which declared the actual existence of war between the two countries. A large meeting was immediately held in New York, at which it was agreed, by the principal citizens, "that war, one of the greatest calamities which afflict mankind, when waged without just cause, is an affront to the Divine Being:" that this war, decreed by a bare majority (a majority of only thirty) in Congress, was unwise: that the country was unprepared, its treasury being empty, its revenue impaired by commercial restrictions, and its commercial property being mainly in the hands of its enemies: that the citizens anticipated being subjected to the will and power of Napoleon, through the misconduct of their rulers: and that, therefore, they had no confidence in the existing government of the United States. A meeting of the citizens of Boston passed similar resolutions on the day of the Declaration of War; and all the vessels in the harbour displayed their flags half-mast high. The Governor of the State, Governor Strong, chosen for his opinions at this crisis, refused to obey the requisition of the General Government to call out the militia of Massachusetts; alleging that the law authorised his doing so only in case of invasion, actual or immediately apprehended; and that he saw no danger of invasion at present. Whilst such was the temper of the States nearest to

Bradford's History, p. 391 (note).

Demonstrations in America.

Canada, the ports of the Slave States were busily fitting out privateers, in hope of finding a rich booty among the West India Islands. At Baltimore, a newspaper editor, who had advocated peace, was threatened with violence, his house attacked, and himself and his friends, among whom were the two Revolutionary Generals, and friends of Washington, Generals Lee and Lingan, conveyed to prison for safety from the mob who were bent on privateering. The next day the jail was forced; General Lee had his skull fractured, and General Lingan was killed on the spot. Such were the demonstrations amidst which the Americans went into the war of 1812. It is certain that Mr. Madison had no personal desire for the war, but incurred it because the large majority of the people thought it necessary. During the last year of his life (1835), he told an English visitor, that it is the people who pay for war who ought to decide upon it, and not the rulers, who do not personally suffer by it: and he spoke of the personal interest which he conceived the Regent to have in the war of 1812, as helping to explain its occurrence; at least, its not being more carefully prevented. At that time, the Droits of the Admiralty carried to the Crown a large share of the captured property of the enemy; and Mr. Madison declared that the Crown received no less than 1,000,000*l.* a year for the two years and a half that the last American war continued. Such a remark can never again be made by an antagonist, as, in the reign of William IV., it was settled that all sums accruing from the Droits of the Admiralty should be paid into the Exchequer, for public use. 1812-15.

Political Dictionary, i. 782.

The first measures of the Government did not propitiate the people of the Commercial States. The levy of forces was declared to be for the protection of the country at large. Yet the New England States could obtain no defence for their seaboard, because the regular troops were wanted for the invasion of Canada, with the object of annexing it to the United States. The first hostile act, however, took place at sea. Commodore Rodgers left New York presently after the Declaration of War, and before it could be known to the British who were on the seas. He carried with him a squadron of ships of war, and went in pursuit of a convoy which was known to have sailed from the West Indies. On the 23rd of June, he fell in with the Belvidere frigate, under Captain Byron, and gave chase — without other result than loss of life on both sides; the first blood shed in the war. Captain Byron supposed that war was declared, and captured three American merchant vessels; but they were released by the Commander on the Halifax station.

FIRST BLOW STRUCK.

Annual Reg., 1812, p. 197.

The invasion of Canada took place in July, when General Hull with his little army crossed the river Detroit, entered Canada, and addressed the inhabitants, promising high success to the American arms, and threatening a war of extermination, if the British should

EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS BY THE BRITISH.

1812-15. employ savages in the conflict. This deadly wrong was, however, already done. Indians were already attacking, in company with English and Canadians, the fort in the island of Mackinaw (or Michilimackinack)—the little island of nine miles round, which commands the strait between the Lakes Michigan and Huron. There, on the white pebbly beach, were the wigwams set up: among the bark-roofed old French cottages, the red men were prowling; they crept among the green knolls, and their devilish whoop echoed back from the shrubby precipices, and spread far over the blue waters of the great inland seas. There is hardly such a paradise on earth as that little island; but the savages, with their thirst for human torture, were brought up into it by Englishmen, and hounded on upon men who are our kindred—men of our own race, derived from our own country, and speaking our own language. This is the unpardonable act from which our national reputation in America can with difficulty, if ever, recover. This is the incident of the war which gave a tone of disgust to the serene conversation of the aged Madison, when alluding to the war of his Presidency. This it was which, even now, makes terrible to an English traveller the review of the scenes of that war, when accompanied by an American guide. One genuine story, learned on such a spot, may convey a truer idea of the war than many details of marchings and skirmishes; and such a narrative is not, therefore, out of place in History.

There is now a scene of ruin on the margin of Lake Erie, a few miles from Buffalo, where, in 1812, there stood a strong fort, with walls so thick that they might seem to defy any foe. The fort was held by the Americans to the last extremity. When the British believed they should be able to take it, there was a tremendous explosion. Once before there had been an explosion, which had cost the lives of several hundreds of our soldiers; but only one life was lost on this occasion; and that was the life of a hero. The Americans found themselves obliged to abandon the fort; and, for the sake of the town of Buffalo, and the whole of the neighbouring frontier, one man remained to blow up the magazine. The Buffalo people knew when the deed was done; for their windows were destroyed by the explosion. Huge fragments of the massy walls now lie overgrown with tall grass, and bristling with shrubbery. The grim forest stretches its dark palisade behind, with the ruins of a deserted house within its shadow; and before, spreads the waste of waters, with gulls dipping and floating. In the very midst of the fort lies a pool, overhung by a single birch; and on the bulrush sways the solitary snipe, regardless of the meditative stranger. This was, in 1812, the strong and busy Fort Erie—the terror of Indians, and the coveted of the English: but the English never obtained it. Not the more for this were the Buffalo people safe. Among the families, there was one whose lot is a fair sample

of the fortunes of borderers in those days—hard as it seems to believe that such things could have happened so lately. First, the head of the family and his eldest son were drowned in crossing the neighbouring ferry, on military service. When the storming of Fort Erie was approaching, the widow sent away her young children into the country, in a waggon, under the care of her son-in-law and his wife. The difficulty of getting away was extreme; and the party had not gone far when they fell in with some Indians, who turned them back. Some incident having drawn off the attention of the savages, the brother-in-law wheeled his waggon into the woods, and got off. But he had no means of sending warning to the widow and her two daughters in Buffalo, whom he was to have conveyed away the next morning. 1812-15.

The ladies were on the watch, however. For three weeks, they had lain down in their clothes—one watching while the others slept. The ordinary dread of an invading enemy is wholly unlike, in kind and degree, the loathing with which the white Americans regard an Indian foe; a foe which will seize a settler's family during his absence, and leave their limbs, tongues, and ears, stuck upon the palings of his dwelling, to inform him, on his return, what has become of them. The insidious and cruel enemy were known to be near; and in the town were many who were burning with the injuries inflicted by their barbarity. Worn by dread and expectation, the widow and her daughters could snatch but a troubled sleep at best. From this they were awakened twice this night: once early, when it was found that the drum had given a false alarm. At four in the morning, the hoarse drum was again heard; and, deadly sick at heart, the ladies sprang from their beds. The younger sister (of sixteen) stole to a back window; and the elder looked into the street. She saw, by the torch-light, the soldiers part and fly: but her sister saw, in the uncertain glimmer of the dawn, something worse. An interminable number of painted savages were leaping the garden-fence—leaping along the walks like kangaroos, flourishing their tomahawks for a blow upon the house door. It was too late to fly. Before the front door could be opened, the back windows came crashing in, and the yelling savages seized the ladies. The captives put on the most submissive air possible. A woman on the opposite door-step lay tomahawked, from having defied the Indians. Some squaws drove these ladies through the streets, between burning houses, and among bleeding corpses, to the British encampment. The British commander could do nothing with helpless women in his camp; and he sent the ladies home, under the care of an ensign and a private, who had extreme difficulty in saving the women and their house. For two days, it was a constant struggle at the door; and at the end of that time, the house was almost the only one left standing. The flames were, in some places, actually slaked with

1812-15. blood. A few of the inhabitants barricaded themselves in the jail: others stole out to the woods, with their money, and whatever they could carry about them. When the Indians found nothing more to burn and destroy, they went elsewhere; and the inhabitants began to creep back to the town, shivering and half famished. The windows of the now lone house were carefully darkened, and a large fire kept up all the day and night—the ladies cooking for hungry applicants, as fast as food could be procured. When too weary to stand, they slept, one at a time, before the fire. The younger daughter gained nerve as time went on, and, making herself look like an Indian, with a blanket about her shoulders, went out into the wintry night, to forage for food. She traced the hogs in the snow, and caught many fowls in the dark. But the savages came again. They could not prevail on themselves to leave the house standing; and they burst in the windows, while six men from the woods were eating within. As the six men fled, the poor girl, who was cooking for them, naturally fled with them: but, recollecting herself, she looked back. A savage was coming on, with his kangaroo leap, and his raised tomahawk. In another moment, her skull would have been cleft. She burst into a laugh in his face, and held out both her hands. The savage was surprised and perplexed, and his weapon swerved. He motioned her homewards: but she could not obtain entrance. Persuaded that her mother and sister lay murdered within, she became reckless, and thrust her way through the Indians to some British dragoons, who were sitting on the ground a long way off. Amazed at her escape, they guarded her home, and protected her sister and mother, till the savages had finally departed. Then, the family had nothing left but the bare house over their heads — neither furniture, food, nor clothes. But they earned their living by working for the towns-people, as they dropped back into the place; and the young creature, whose brain had not turned at the sight of the suspended tomahawk, became the wife of a judge.

A true picture, like this, of the American war of 1812—14, will enable the next generation to understand how Americans must have felt — from President Madison down to the humblest settler in the woods — towards an antagonist who could bring into the conflict savages of too low an order to be under military command.

British Successes on Land. By the aid of such allies, the British took Mackinaw; and General Hull, failing in his attempts upon Canada, surrendered the important fort of Detroit, with its guns, and 2,500 men.

Losses at Sea. On the sea, the Americans had the advantage — greatly to the consternation of England, whose naval supremacy had, for some years, been undisputed. The American frigates of a rating corresponding to the British were, in size, weight of metal, and manning, almost equal to our ships of the line. It was

some time before our proud and fearless naval commanders became sufficiently aware of this; and, till they had learned caution, the Americans had all their own way at sea. In August, they took the English frigate Guerrier; and, during the rest of the year, inflicted various other mortifications on our naval pride, besides enriching themselves by a successful course of privateering. The English people began to demand more energetic measures against a naval foe whom they could no longer despise; and, on the 26th of December, the Regent issued a public notice, that the ports and harbours of the Chesapeake and Delaware were in a state of blockade. 1812-15. Ann. Reg., 1812, p. 200. Ib. p. 204.

This blockade enabled the British to do some mischief on the rivers, and by excursions up the country, here and there; but, during 1813, the Americans had still the advantage at sea; and our force on the great lakes could not compete with theirs. As for the wisdom at head-quarters, under which the war was to be conducted, it was not likely to show itself more to our commanders in America than to Wellington in Spain; and one anecdote suffices to show what it was. When the British were to encounter the Americans on the great lakes, water-casks were sent out, at large cost of money and trouble, the officials at home having forgotten (if indeed they knew) that the lake-water was fresh. This was of a piece with sending out to Wellington, shoes not only unfit for service among the Pyrenees, but too small for any soldiers to wear. 1813.

On the 30th of March, just after Mr. Madison had resumed office on his re-election as President, the Regent issued a second notice, declaring a blockade of the ports and harbours of New York, Charleston, Port Royal, Savannah, and the mouth of the Mississippi. No decisive battles were fought during the year. The Americans failed in new attempts against Canada: and, on the other hand, the British lost their city of York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, with 300 men and considerable stores. In May, the Emperor of Russia offered his mediation between the belligerents. The American government, while bating nothing of its complaints of Great Britain, evidenced a desire for peace, by proposing to send three Commissioners to Europe, to negotiate a treaty, under the auspices of Russia. The British government declined the intervention of Russia; but expressed a desire for peace, and proposed to appoint Commissioners to meet those of the United States, if the meeting was held either in London or at Gottenburg. Meantime, the war went on. It was a disheartening fact to the British that a formidable portion of the foes they had now to meet were actually arrayed against them by their own government. In answer to the complaints of the American government of the impressment of their seamen by the British, Lord Castlereagh declared in parliament that not more than 1,600 EXTENSIVE BLOCKADE. Annual Reg., 1813, p. 179. RUSSIAN INTERVENTION. Annual Reg., 1814, p. 178. PROPOSALS OF PEACE.

1812-15. or 1,700 Americans could be found in our navy; and Mr. Baring's reply testified that not less than 16,000 British sailors were serving in the navy of the United States. The long war, the severity of impressment in England, and the unrelieved fatigues of the service, had so far destroyed national attachment in a multitude of British sailors, that they were eager to take service in a foreign state whose identity of language with our own made such a measure safe.—A more important adverse influence was the exiled Irish, who might be found every where in the United States. The British Ambassador, just returned thence, declared in parliament, that "there were no fewer than six United Irishmen in the American Congress, remarkable for their inveterate hostility to this country, for the war with which they had all voted." There were others from Ireland who were guiltless of all political offence, but more hostile to England than any native-born American. For one instance, there were the sons of a clergyman who was quietly said to have "lost his life in the rebellion of 1798." This clergyman, a man of learning, wit, and gay spirits, was a neighbour of Lord Londonderry, and a favourite guest at his table. He was charged, secretly, with having written one or more patriotic songs found among the soldiers. He was seized at his parsonage, dragged before a few officers, who scarcely pretended to offer the forms of a trial, even by martial law, and ordered him immediately to the gibbet. To his wife's entreaties for time to bring evidence, the answer was that the only favour they could grant her was to allow her to attend her husband to his death. She did so. He was immediately hanged in his own parish, with his wife at the foot of the gallows. One son was a growing youth; another was four years old. He could not think what was the matter with his mother that night. She sat all night beside the bed, on which lay something covered with a sheet. Her eyes were very wide open; and she sat, all those hours, with a deep red spot on each cheek, staring at the wall. The child dared not move, but sat on his stool in a corner, watching his mother. That boy followed his brother in saying that he would never belong to England. Their mother, surrounded by hungering children, encouraged them in this, and sent back, without message, the clothes and money which her great neighbours left at her door. The eldest son went immediately to America, and was an active citizen there, while Lord Castlereagh (whom his father had known so well) was conducting the American war. This young man, animated by his burning love of Ireland, of his mother, and of the memory of his father, used his fine faculties well, and became not only the wealthiest citizen of Louisiana, but Judge of the Supreme Court of that State, and one of the most important members of the Senate at Washington. In that position, he had more power, in any question between Great Britain and the United States, than any man out of the Cabinet

Deserters and Exiles.

Hansard, xxiv. 625.

could have on our side the water. He invited over the rest of the family as he became able to offer them a vocation and a home: and that family is only one specimen of a large class of haters of England (the England of the Pitts, Sidmouths, and Castlereaghs), who were planted down in all districts, and scattered through all the political councils of the United States, during the war of 1812. 1812-15.

One of the most threatening inflictions of the war arose out of the presence of this class in America. In that country, it was considered a matter of course that immigrants, coming to settle for life, should transfer their allegiance from their native to their adopted country: but in Europe, such a transfer was held to be impossible. Out of the determination of the British government to treat as traitors all prisoners of war found to be of British, Irish, or colonial origin, arose one of the most painful complications of this lamentable quarrel. The British commander in Canada declared, in the General Orders published on the 27th of October, 1813, that twenty-three prisoners of war had been sent to England as British subjects, to be dealt with in that capacity. The American general, Dearborn, was immediately instructed to put into close confinement twenty-three British soldiers, as hostages for the safety of those who were gone to England. This was followed up by the Prince Regent committing to close confinement forty-six American officers and non-commissioned officers, as hostages for the safety of his twenty-three soldiers. He intimated that double the number of executions should take place on the British side for any on the American: and that the villages, coasts, towns, cities, and settlements of every kind in the United States, should suffer from the extremest vengeance of his forces, in case of any retaliatory act of the Americans, when he was dealing with his own subjects. The year 1813 closed upon these menaces; and the two countries remained on the watch for a revival of the worst warfare of the darkest ages. Both governments, however, thought better of the matter, and the cruelty and scandal were avoided. In April, 1814, a convention for the exchange of prisoners was discussed between two commanders; and in July this convention was reconsidered by a party of officers, at the suggestion of the American government. The convention was agreed to; and the opportunity was taken of including among the exchangeable prisoners the twenty-three British soldiers and forty-six American officers who had been confined as hostages.

RETALIATION ABOUT PRISONERS.

Annual Reg., 1813, p. 190.

1814.

Annual Reg., 1814, p. 182.

RELINQUISHED.

The war did not become more popular as it proceeded. The citizens of the United States suffered in all directions, while they had not the animating principle which had supported them under their privations in the war of the last century. No decisive advantage was gained on either side, while the revenue was falling off, and public spirit oozing away. In March, 1814, the President

1812-15. found it necessary to propose the repeal of the embargo and non-importation acts, under which the commerce of the country had sunk into ruin. Just when the merchants were beginning to hope for a revival of trade from this relaxation, they were thrown back into discouragement by the extension of the blockade by the British. Hitherto, it had extended from Long Island Sound to the south: and now it was to be stretched northwards to the British boundary in New Brunswick. The President declared by proclamation his conviction that a blockade of such extent could not be maintained; pointed out that it had not succeeded in its more limited range; and desired that all possible protection and service should be rendered to neutral vessels disposed to trade with the United States.

Relaxation of Commercial Restrictions.

By this time, midsummer, the troops sent from Bordeaux, after the close of the Peninsular war, were about to arrive at Quebec: and it was not before they were wanted. In the frequent conflicts on the borders of Canada, many hundreds of lives were lost, while the success was so shifting, that no permanent advantage was gained by either party. The British declared that the Americans were improving wonderfully in military ability; and there was so strong a persuasion that they were aided by treachery in Canada, that a considerable number of British subjects on the frontier were brought to trial. Fifteen were convicted, and eight were hanged in the district of Niagara, in May. The arrival of the Peninsular troops in such a season was a matter of great rejoicing.

Ann. Reg., 1814, p. 183. Canadian Traitors.

Meantime, a plan was under consideration, further south, for making the blockade serve some other purpose than irritating and annoying the residents in the ports. While a man of war and some boats proceeded up the Chesapeake, and threatened Baltimore, as a diversion, a blow was to be struck at the Capital. One expedition went up the Potomac, to attack Fort Washington; and another up the Patusent, where the American Commodore, Barney, was stationed with his flotilla. If the Fort and the Commodore could be overpowered, the two divisions of the British would be within an easy march of the seat of Government. Thus far, there was nothing to find fault with. The enterprise was fair, under all the rules of war. But there was an ulterior purpose, which, it is believed, was concealed from all the officers in the two expeditions, except those actually entrusted with the commission. It is believed that the officers who, in their passage up the Potomac, sailed before Mount Vernon, under the very windows of Washington's house, were not aware of the barbarous nature of their errand: and this is probably true; for they assembled on deck, and gazed, bareheaded, on the piazza and the green terrace where the patriot was wont to pace to and fro, as he meditated his virtuous acts. These officers saw his dwelling, and they saw his tomb; and they manifested a reverence which would have hidden

Capture of Washington.

itself in shame, if they had known what an errand they were sent on.—Commodore Barney, seeing himself sure to be overpowered, blew up his whole flotilla. Sixteen vessels were destroyed, and one captured. In the other direction, Fort Washington could not hold out; for its powder-magazine blew up, as soon as the British commander, Captain Gordon, began to bombard it. The commercial city of Alexandria, five miles from Washington, was thus left helpless; and it submitted. Not only was the city to deliver up all its vessels and stores, and all its merchandize, but its public buildings and works were to be destroyed. Happily, there was not time to complete the ravage. Owing to the difficulty of the navigation, and the want of pilots, Captain Gordon had been ten days in ascending the Potomac. He had buoyed the channel, in preparation for his return; but he was too late to aid in the capture of Washington: and the question now was, whether he was not too late to carry back his force and his booty; for the Americans were gathering to intercept him. Leaving much of his booty behind, he turned seawards on the 29th of August. The winds were contrary; and one of his vessels grounded, in face of an American force upon the banks: but, after some fighting and much anxiety, the expedition regained its anchoring ground in the Chesapeake on the 9th of September.

1812-15.

Annual Reg., 1814, p. 185.

The other half of the expedition had destroyed Washington—that is, all that made it the capital of the United States—before Captain Gordon left Alexandria. The British captured ten pieces of cannon, and lost only 250 men, killed and wounded, in their march into Washington. It was eight in the evening, of the 24th of August, when General Ross and his little army entered the city. Before it was dark the Capitol was burning; and the incendiarism did not cease till the Houses of Congress, the arsenal, the treasury, the dockyard, the war-office, the White House (the President's palace), the rope-walk, the great bridge over the Potomac, a frigate, and a sloop of war, were all destroyed. To avoid the onset of forces raised by rage and vengeance, the British lost no time in retreating. Before dark on the 25th, they were on their way back. Admiral Cockburn claimed and had the questionable honour of planning this expedition, and arranging its details. It is an honour which no man, probably, would now covet. The Americans themselves were hardly more indignant at the nature of the ravage than the inhabitants of every country in Europe who heard of it. The calamities of war were but too well known to Europeans; but every where they had seen respect paid to the seats and offices of civil government, to works of art, and productions of pacific use or ornament. The British in Washington had, for the most part, respected private property, and had been civil to the residents; but, by their destruction of government offices, and the early specimens of art among a youthful people, they had

Annual Reg. 1814, p. 184. BURNING THE STATE OFFICES.

1812 5 shown a barbaric spirit of which every continental nation would have been ashamed.

The Americans were almost as angry with their own government as with the British; and it appears strange that the capital should have been left so ill defended. The war was soon to come to an end now; for the Commissioners in Europe were busy at their work of framing a treaty. Before they had done, the British had failed in a rash and ill-managed attack on the city of Baltimore, in which General Ross and many more brave soldiers from Spain were killed; they had succeeded in obtaining possession of the region lying east of the Penobscot river, in the State of Maine; and they had failed in an inroad upon Lake Champlain, from which much was expected. The troops from the Peninsula were there, far outnumbering the Americans: but the repulse and defeat of the British before Plattsburg were decisive, and their loss considerable, while the enemy suffered but little. The people of Canada were now as discontented with their authorities as the Americans with theirs, about the capture of Washington: and it was well that the Commissioners at Ghent were coming to an understanding.

Commission at Ghent.

It was at Ghent, and not at Gottenburg, for reasons of convenience, that the Commissioners were sitting. The three British were Lord Gambier, Mr. Goulburn, and Mr. Adams. The four American plenipotentiaries were, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, J. A. Bayard, and Jonathan Russell. The first set of stipulations, proposed by Great Britain, were laid before Congress by the President early in October, and at once rejected. The President, in the midst of difficulties at home, did not choose to incur the responsibility of rejecting the terms offered by England; and he, therefore, ventured upon the unusual act of laying before the people the terms of a negotiation yet in suspense. Massachusetts and other New England States were in open discontent about the war, and proceeding to take the matter into their own hands. The treasury was empty; and the list of new taxes, found to be necessary, was such as it required some courage to bring forward. Napoleon had, by this time, fallen; Great Britain was released from continental warfare, and was formidable to America in proportion. Under such circumstances, it is no wonder that the President cast upon Congress the responsibility of declining the terms of peace. Congress proceeded, without delay, to ordain a vast increase of force, and amendment of the means of defence; and it was with deep sadness of heart that the citizens prepared themselves for a new campaign in the spring, and an indefinite continuance of the war. But the Commissioners at Ghent were compromising their differences, and in so hearty a spirit, that they were able to sign their treaty on the 24th of December.

Ann. Reg., 1814, p. 192.

Treaty agreed upon.

It was sad that there was no "little bird to carry the matter." For want of knowing what was done at Ghent, a needless and disastrous battle was fought at New Orleans. On Christmas Day, the day after the signature of the treaty, Sir Edward Pakenham chose his ground, within six miles of New Orleans — the Americans having better defences of canal and river than himself, and his troops being fatigued by the difficult and hazardous ascent from the mouth of the Mississippi—a distance of 110 miles of muddy rushing river, and treacherous swamp. The American sharp-shooters, hanging round, now allowed his troops no continued sleep. It was clear that the British could do nothing, but by erecting batteries. The preparation of these, and the bringing up of heavy cannon and ammunition, occupied the few remaining days of the year. The Americans made their parapets of earth, filled up in the intervals with a few cotton bags. In imitation of these bags, the British made their breastwork of barrels of molasses and sugar. The American material was the best of the two for resistance to cannon-balls. The battle of New Year's Day, 1815, destroyed the breastwork of the British, and spilled all the molasses and sugar: and it wasted a vast quantity of ammunition, and of human strength, without any clear result. The great and fatal battle was fought, four miles from the city, on the 7th of January. The Americans fought under cover, and had only six men killed and seven wounded; while the British lay in bloody heaps all over the field. Their total loss, in the whole expedition, was 3,000 men.

1812-15.

MISSISSIPPI EXPEDITION.

BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS, *January 7th*, 1815.

The Americans, under General Jackson, afterwards President, were wide awake and well commanded: the British were wearied, and ill commanded. Those who see the battle-field now can scarcely conceive that any soldiery should have been required to spread themselves out over a wide level, wholly without shelter or hollow, to be slaughtered by men under cover. But it was not only this. A canal was attempted to be dug, in a soil which melted into the water as fast as it was stirred, and in which boats were mere impediments. Ladders were forgotten when breastworks were to be mounted. An expedition sent over the river, to capture a battery, was three hours behind its time, from unforeseen hindrances. Every thing went wrong; and, at a critical moment, Sir Edward Pakenham was killed; and then the two generals who succeeded him were carried off the field wounded; one mortally. There is little doubt, from the vast loss in officers, that they were picked off by marksmen behind the American breastworks. And this proved the quickest way of putting an end to the fighting. When the men were bewildered, for lack of leaders, they took flight in extreme disorder. General Lambert, on whom the command devolved, brought up the reserve, to enable them to rally by covering their flight: and, when they were reassembled in some-

1812-15. thing like order, he despatched a flag of truce with a request for time to collect and bury his dead.

On the American side, as has been said, all was vigilance and prudence. It has been remarked upon, in a somewhat scornful tone, that they never came out from their defences: but it is difficult to see why they should. They did not seek the conflict. They were invaded; they fought in self-defence; and they gained their objects. They saved their city; they disabled the enemy; and they threw away no lives uselessly. No instances of cowardice are on record, but several of bravery. The patriotic citizen spirit, animating the faculties, is perhaps the most remarkable feature in the case of the invaded. In a country house, four miles from New Orleans, a youth was sitting at dinner, twelve days before the great battle, when one of his father's slaves came in, and told him that there were some men in red coats in the yard. Instantly comprehending that the American scouts had been captured, the youth bolted through the window, and into a canoe, and crossed the vast river amidst a shower of balls; laid hands on a horse, and galloped to the city, where the troops were, on his information, collected by drum and bell. In twelve hours, New Orleans was prepared. Every body supposed the British would follow the trusty scout: and, if they had, they would have taken possession of New Orleans almost without having to strike a blow. Why they did not, the Americans do not at this hour understand. Sir Edward Pakenham was very near dying before the battle. His head-quarters were at a house still conspicuous on the plain. He and some of his officers were standing in the balcony, when they were recognised by some spying Americans at a distance. A gunner was ordered to aim at them. Seeing the importance of the shot, he lost nerve, and struck the river, a mile off. Being ordered to retire, and aware that this was the crisis of his professional fate, he implored that he might have one more chance. It was granted; and he hit the pillar which supported the balcony, immediately under the feet of the officers, who hurried into the house.

Retreat of the British.

It was not till the 18th of January that General Lambert moved off. The retreat was well managed and orderly; and the Americans did not interfere with it. Many British soldiers, worn beyond endurance, deserted; and ten pieces of cannon were left behind—disabled. The broken and mortified expedition got back to the ships, off the mouth of the Mississippi, indisposed for further enterprise; and the delighted citizens of New Orleans celebrated the fame of General Jackson, as "the Conqueror of the conquerors of Napoleon." In a little while arrived the news that peace had been agreed upon before the young planter had so hastily left his dinner. When the tidings reached the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, the garrison of Fort Mobile had surrendered to Admiral Cochrane and General Lambert. They considered it a good

basis for operations on the Mississippi; but the British had now nothing more to do with the great river but to trade upon it. 1812-15.

The Treaty of Ghent left almost every thing where it was before the war. The mutual concessions of parties, both eager for peace, amounted to little more than postponing the most difficult questions for future settlement. This was the case with regard to the supremely important point of the boundaries. Commissioners were to negotiate this hereafter. The Indians were to possess the territories and privileges they had before the war, and to remain unmolested by the whites on both sides. Both parties were to use every effort for the abolition of the Slave-trade. Nothing was gained, on either side, in regard to the ostensible objects of the war; and a senator from New York declared, in Congress, that the Treaty of Ghent was less favourable to his country than that, negotiated by Pinckney and Monroe in 1808, which Jefferson thought unworthy of being even laid before Congress. Yet, so glad was New York of even this peace, that the Englishman who carried out the ratification was borne in triumph, and amidst a tumult of welcome, through the streets of the city. The President was relieved from a most embarrassing position: the State was suddenly relieved from a threatening political quarrel: the commerce of the Eastern States was relieved from the restrictions and perils of war: and the agriculture of the south and west, from a ruinous burden of taxation. The English were enabled to declare themselves at peace with all the world; and it only remained for all to wish that the folly and crime had never been committed, and that from among the records of History could be torn that page which must contain the narrative of the bootless war of 1812—15.

TREATY OF GHENT.

Bradford's History of Massachusetts, p. 412.

CHAPTER VIII.

1812-14. IN proportion as the King's recovery became more hopeless, public attention was fixed on the family of the Regent. It was not an agreeable spectacle—the proceedings of that unhappy family; but the only child, the young Princess who was to be our Queen, was an object of hope and of strong popular affection. Her mother was showing a boldness which we now know to have been nothing short of audacity. She was perpetually calling for the production of papers, recording an inquiry made into her conduct in 1806. We know, from Sir S. Romilly's Diary, that the production of those papers would have ruined her reputation with the people of England. She was, no doubt, well aware that the Ministers dared not, for their own sakes, produce these papers. The fact was so: her boldness naturally and properly won confidence: her cause rose with every debate in parliament on her affairs: and on her husband rested the entire censure called forth by her case. Censurable as his conduct towards her had been, he now suffered under more blame than was just. He was very unhappy. In 1811, we find him growing "serious;" reading the Bible daily with Lady Hertford. But his occasional fits of religion did not improve his temper or his habits. He was as selfish and as vindictive in the midst of them as before. After Lords Grenville and Grey had refused office, in February, 1812, the Regent spoke against them in such violent terms at table, on occasion of giving a dinner to his daughter, that the Princess shed tears. From table she went to the Opera, and, seeing Lord Grey, kissed her hand to him, and smiled upon him very graciously. It was a bitter mortification to her when, in June, her friends, on the very verge of office, were turned back for the sake of the Hertfords and the Yarmouths who were in the Household. It should be mentioned that the fault, in this case, did not rest with the Hertfords and the Yarmouths, or any other members of the Household; nor yet with Lord Moira, the representative of the Regent: and much less, with Lords Grenville and Grey. It was Sheridan, now battered and broken by dissipation, and sinking under habits of intoxication, who had it in his power to do this great mischief—of keeping out Lords Grey and Grenville. He did it by a trick, the meanness of

THE REGENT AND HIS FAMILY.

Memoirs, iii. 86.

Memoirs of Ward, i. 432.

which he was wholly unable to explain away. Lord Yarmouth formally commissioned Sheridan to convey to Lords Grey and Grenville the intention of the Household to resign. Sheridan first strove to change this purpose; then suppressed the intelligence of it; and lastly, when questioned by Mr. Tierney on the subject, offered to bet five hundred guineas that nobody in the Household thought of resigning. It was well understood that he acted in this manner to please the Regent; but this is no excuse, and merely implicates another person in the dishonour. When the new Parliament met, after the change of Ministry, the Regent went to open it, and the Princess Charlotte to witness the ceremony. The father was received, in the streets, "with the deepest and most humiliating silence:" the daughter with loud and repeated huzzas. 1812-14. Life of Sheridan, ii. 426. Memoirs of Romilly, iii. 73.

In the next January, the Princess, having now completed her 17th year, was watched, at home and throughout the kingdom; her proceedings being no longer those of a child. Her father ordered new restrictions on her intercourse with her mother. The mother remonstrated in a letter: the letter was twice returned unopened—through the repugnance of the Regent to hold any communication whatever with the person whose very handwriting vexed his eyes. When the letter appeared in the newspapers, and was read by every body but himself, he was compelled to take some notice of it; and he summoned a Privy Council to advise him how to deal with it. There was no practical result, except upon the warm temper of the young Princess, who, having no great reason before to love her father, was now urged by all her best feelings to take part with her mother. Cautious and politic men, like the Chancellor, saw the mischief that was done, and would have no hand in the doing of it: and the consequence was that the Regent treated Lord Eldon with so much unkindness, that the unhappy courtier declared himself "too low, and too ill, to mix with the world," and in full expectation of having to resign his office. He had been near losing the Great Seal in a different way, a few weeks before. A fire breaking out in his country house when he was there, the Chancellor's first thought was of the Great Seal; and he buried it with his own hands. After the confusion of the fire, he could not remember where he had buried it; and it was not till the whole household had dug and probed for some time that it was recovered. He did not lose the Chancellorship just now, however; and the Regent was friendly to him on all other subjects than that of the wife and daughter. At the end of the year, 1813, the young Princess was confirmed at Windsor. 1813. THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE. Hansard, xxiv. 1145. Life, ii. 232.

In the spring, it was universally believed that she was to be married. The King of Holland, in an address to his States, spoke of the approaching marriage of his heir, the Prince of Orange, with the heiress of the English throne. No reason was assigned for the rupture of the 1814. HER SUITORS. THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. Hansard, xxviii. 105.

1812-14. engagement; but incidents enough occurred in the early part of the summer to occasion abundant speculation.

It was the summer of the Peace, when the allied Sovereigns visited London. The Queen held two drawing-rooms. An intimation reached her that the Princess of Wales intended to appear at one of them. As the Regent must be present, the Queen was compelled to intimate to the Princess that she could not be received. Once more, the Princess had the matter carried before the House of Commons, where there was a debate upon it. On the 12th of the next month, the Regent visited his daughter, accompanied by her tutor, the Bishop of Salisbury, and informed her, in a manner universally believed to have been startling and harsh, that her servants were dismissed, and that she must immediately go home with him to Carlton House. The Princess retired, not only from his presence, but from the house. With a little basket in her hand, she escaped by a back-staircase, threw herself into a hackney-coach, and desired to be driven to Connaught House, her mother's present residence. Her mother, much embarrassed, drove down to the House of Commons, to ask her advisers what she ought to do. Mr. Brougham returned with her. It was three in the morning before the young Princess yielded to the advice of her uncles, the Dukes of York and Sussex, Mr. Brougham, and the Chancellor, and permitted herself to be conveyed to Carlton House. After a short residence there, she was removed to Cranbourne House, near Windsor, which was now considered her fixed residence. Her mother, harassed and mortified by the neglect with which she had been treated during this summer of fêtes and universal alliance, went abroad. She at first proposed merely a short visit to her brother, the Duke of Brunswick: but from his Court she proceeded to Italy; and when nothing was heard of any intention to return, the Regent began to hope that he was rid of her for ever.

Hansard, xxviii. 131.

Her flight to her Mother.

Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg.

The natural inference from what people saw, in the case of the Prince of Orange, was that the Princess Charlotte was attached elsewhere, or that the young people, on meeting, did not like each other. If the Princess had an attachment elsewhere, it was not, as yet, to her future husband, though they were married in less than two years from this time. Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg was Aide-de-camp to the Grand Duke Constantine, and was in Paris with the conquerors of Napoleon in the spring of this year. He seems to have been always in love in those days; and he was now paying attentions to a young English lady in Paris. On the invitation of her relatives, he came over with the Sovereigns, saw the Princess Charlotte, and supposed himself distinguished by her. He offered, and was refused. He next fell in love with a lady at Vienna, during the session of Congress there in the autumn. A friend in London wrote to him to say that the

Alison's History, x. 530, 531.

Princess Charlotte was now free, and that he had better not be so open in his attentions to the German lady. He returned to London; proposed, and was this time accepted. The amiable Princess Mary was deeply interested in this affair. The Duke of Gloucester was understood to be necessarily reserved for the Princess Charlotte, in case of the heiress of the crown forming no other connexion: but the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Mary were believed to have been long attached. When, on the evening of the 2nd of May, 1815, the Princess Charlotte, just married, descended the grand staircase at Carlton House, she was met at the foot by the Princess Mary, who with her face bathed in tears, opened her arms to the bride. The Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Mary were married on the 22nd of July following. 1812-14. MARRIAGE. 1815.

The Irish Disturbances Bill of 1807 had been repealed in 1810, on the motion of the Irish Secretary, Mr. Wellesley Pole. The time was past for the construction of Cabinets on the principle of excluding the Catholics from political rights, while it had not come for giving them any clear hope of admission to the ordinary privileges of citizens. In order to be ready for any favourable contingency, the Catholic body formed themselves into an Association which the government in vain endeavoured to put down, during the years 1811 and 1812. In 1813, a relief was obtained by the Catholics which nobody could object to; and Lord Liverpool offered his ready acquiescence. It was simply provided that Catholic holders of any civil or military office in Ireland, who should have taken the oaths prescribed by Irish Acts, should be exempt elsewhere from penalties due in such places for not taking the oaths imposed after the Restoration. The same exemption was to apply in case of a Catholic Irish officer in the army being promoted to a higher rank in England. As the war drew to a close, more information was brought to government of the treasonable combinations which were taking place, with a view to keep up a tacit political understanding between Ireland and France. Absurd as were such schemes, they interfered fatally with the tranquillity of Ireland, and with the execution of the laws. Such was the statement by which Mr. Peel justified his request to parliament to revive the Act relating to Irish Disturbances, which was repealed in 1810. Most of the members were satisfied to grant the Act on the mere statement of the Irish Secretary. Sir Henry Parnell and Mr. Horner met but little support in their demand for a committee, or some other method of ascertaining the facts on which parliament was about to legislate. The Act was passed before the end of July, together with a milder one for the preservation of the peace. In November Mr. Peel moved to amend the Bill of July, in regard merely to a difficulty in its application, and he took the opportunity of explaining that the Peace Preservation Act had been needed IRISH AFFAIRS. Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 244. Hansard. xxviii. 163, 172. Ib. xxix. 335.

1812-14. only in once instance; and then, by desire of residents; while the Insurrection Act had not been used at all. Amidst the ordinary amount of argument as to whether any occasion for so stringent a law had ever existed at all, it was clear that now, at the close of fifteen years from that Union which was to make all safe, harmonious, and prosperous, between England and Ireland, even distinguishing the century through all future time, there was grievous disappointment on every hand. The Catholics still lay under political disabilities, and the people were coerced by Insurrection Acts. The time was to be just doubled before the most bitter of Irish complaints was to be redressed, after an interval of mischief, misery, and apprehension, sufficient for the conversion of even the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel.

The Press. These were days in which the liberty of the Press was assailed by government to an extent which might almost make us doubt whether it could be in our own England that the trials took place which became so numerous under Sir Vicary Gibbs—the Attorney-General under the Perceval Ministry. The yearly average of informations for libel under the present reign, up to 1808, had been two: in the course of the next three years there had been forty; that is, nearly fourteen per year. It did not mend the matter that prosecution did not always follow on the filing of informations. In many cases, the Attorney-General kept the matter suspended, when his victims would have been glad to have it settled, at almost any cost. These facts were brought forward by Lord Folkestone in parliament, in March, 1811: but his motion for papers was rejected by a very large majority. In February, 1810, Mr. Perry, the able and accomplished editor of the 'Morning Chronicle,' was brought to trial for having copied from the 'Examiner' a passage about the King, declared to be libellous. Mr. Perry defended himself, and the jury acquitted him.—In the next June, Mr. Cobbett, then a man of powerful influence through the combination of vigorous talent in himself, and the prevalence of political grievances, was prosecuted for an article in his 'Political Register' (coarse and violent enough) on Military flogging. In those days, it was a heinous offence to call in question any principle or practice of naval or military discipline; and a man paid dear for expressing his feelings on the subject of those floggings against which the world has since made such an outcry that they are well nigh abolished; and with the best results on the character of the soldier. In the days under notice, two great men—Lord Hutchinson and Sir S. Romilly—could sit together at the Duke of Gloucester's table, and tell and hear horrible stories of military floggings; and Romilly might groan over the facts in his Diary; but a Cobbett, a Scott, a Hunt, might not say the same things in a newspaper without danger of fine and imprisonment, under a charge of using the press as a means of exciting insubordination in

Life of Romilly, ii. 380.

Mr. Perry. Annual Reg. 1810. Chron. 257.

Mr. Cobbett.

the army. Cobbett defended himself; but not with Perry's ability and success. He was convicted, fined 1,000*l.*, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.—A few weeks afterwards, some remarks on the same sore subject were contributed to a Lincolnshire paper, 'the Stamford News,' by Mr. John Scott, a gentleman of high accomplishments and excellent temper, who was nevertheless drawn into the perils of libel in those duelling days, and was shot in a duel by dim moonlight, by an antagonist whose intention was not to harm him. The article in 'the Stamford News,' was pounced upon by the Attorney-General; and the Editor, Mr. Drakard, steadily refusing to give up the author, was prosecuted. The article had been copied into the London 'Examiner,' edited by the brothers John and Leigh Hunt. The Hunts were prosecuted also: and both they and Mr. Drakard were defended by Mr. Brougham. The Hunts were acquitted, in the face of a very strong charge of Lord Ellenborough, in which he declared there could be no doubt of the seditious intentions of the defendants. A provincial jury decided differently in the other case. Mr. Drakard was convicted, brought up for judgment to the Court of King's Bench, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.—Within two years the Hunts were again on their trial, for a libel against the Prince Regent. They were again defended by Mr. Brougham, and judged by Lord Ellenborough, who showed even more violence than before; violence so great as to cause not only indignation among the whole bar, who felt their professional honour wounded by it, but regret among his brother judges. He condescended to say that Mr. Brougham was inoculated with all the poison of the libel; and that the issue to be tried by the jury was, whether Englishmen were to live for the future under the dominion of libellers. The Hunts were sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and a fine of 500*l.* each. In a subsequent page it will be seen what an intolerable pass the government prosecutions for libel had reached in five years from this time.

1812-14.

Lord Brougham's Speeches, i. 6.

Mr. Scott.

The Hunts.

Memoirs of Horner, ii. 139.

During the panic of twenty years before, about the spread of the principles of the French Revolution, an Act had been passed by which printers were compelled to put their names at the beginning of every publication, and at the end of all that extended beyond a single sheet. Under this Act, great abuses had grown up; the fines being so loosely imposed, that informers could take advantage of an act of mere carelessness in servants to get master-printers fined to the extent of 20,000*l.* or 30,000*l.* for a single oversight. Informers were even found to have laid traps, for the purpose of obtaining their share of fines. In March 1811, the facts were represented in a Petition from the printers and publishers of the United Kingdom; and their cause was pleaded in parliament. It was shown that the fine in a single case might be made to amount to 100,000*l.*: and that every publication yet prosecuted

Printers' Name Bill.

Memoirs of Romilly, ii. 384.

1812-14. on this ground had been of an innocent and useful nature. The Attorney-General, who had actually been obliged to bring in a Bill to indemnify the convicted publishers, in certain cases, now agreed to a suggestion of Sir S. Romilly, that a limitation should be fixed to the fining power of magistrates. Henceforth, while the magistrate might, at his discretion, mitigate the fine to 5*l.*, he could not impose more than twenty-five penalties of 20*l.*: that is, 500*l.* An appeal to the Quarter sessions was also allowed, if entered within twenty days after conviction.

Hansard, xix. 729.

Creation of the Office of Vice-Chancellor.

Just at the close of the Session of 1812, a Bill was brought down from the Cabinet which it is scarcely conceivable that the Ministers could have desired to pass immediately: yet Lord Castlereagh insisted that they did desire and expect it. The lawyers were all absent on circuit, and other members were dropping homewards, when the Masters in Chancery brought down to the Commons a Bill which Lord Redesdale, under Lord Eldon's sanction, had introduced in the Lords, for creating the Office of Vice-Chancellor. The object was to enable the King to appoint a barrister of not less than fifteen years' standing to be an Assistant to the Chancellor, under the title of Vice-Chancellor of England. He was to be under the direction and control of the Chancellor, to be removeable at pleasure, to sit whenever and wherever his superior should appoint, and to manage such business only as the Chancellor should set him to do. It was immediately clear to Romilly and others that this was a lightening of the duties of the Chancellor, without any diminution of its emoluments; that it tended to render the office more than ever political, and by so much less judicial; and that it would most injuriously affect the law and practice of the Court of Chancery. The measure stood over till the next session; and meantime, there was a new parliament. Romilly, having been thrown out at the Bristol election, did not re-enter the House till after the Christmas recess. In the interval, he published a pamphlet, setting forth, not his political, but his legal objections to the Bill. It was brought forward on the 1st of December, with the intention of its being passed immediately: but some objections of Lord Holland's delayed it till after the holidays. Romilly, being by that time in the House, opposed it to the utmost of his power: but it was passed on the 11th of March, 1813. The salary was 6,000*l.* a year—since reduced to 5,000*l.*, with a retiring pension of 3,500*l.* Within a few years, two more Vice-Chancellors have been appointed, who receive similar emoluments. Since their appointment, a main part of the business of the Chancellor's Court has been the rehearing of causes brought up by appeal from the Vice-Chancellors' courts. Original causes are now usually confined to those courts, and that of the Master of the Rolls; while the higher Court is chiefly occupied with appeals from below. What further changes will be necessary

Memoirs of Romilly, iii. 49.

1813.

Political Dictionary, i. 485.

in this department of the State must inevitably be settled in the course of the century. Meantime, it is worthy of remembrance that the first grand innovation took place, under the sanction of Lord Eldon, in 1813. The new Attorney-General, Plumer, was appointed the first Vice-Chancellor; and his place was filled by Garrow, the Solicitor-General. 1812-14.

ATTAINDER. CORRUPTION OF BLOOD.

It was this Solicitor-General Garrow who had just signalized his name by opposition to two measures of Romilly's, which it was a sufficient disgrace to the age that Romilly should have to bring forward. The one was to remove the corruption of blood in cases of attainder, except for certain extreme offences; and the other was to abolish the barbarous parts of the process of execution for high treason.—The infliction of corruption of blood in cases of attainder—the dreadful evil of visiting the children for ever for the offences of the parent—was clearly never designed as punishment for offence, but was a necessary consequence of feudal tenures. To those who wonder at the obstinacy of men in former ages—and the number was very considerable—who endured "pressing to death" (a torture of many days' duration) rather than plead to an indictment, it is an affecting explanation that husbands and parents endured this for the sake of their wives and their posterity. Many a man has died this horrible death in the Press-yard of Newgate, and in other prisons, rather than so plead as that his trial might go on, and sentence be reached, and attainder pronounced, and thence his widow's dower be forfeited, and corruption of blood visit his descendants, so that they could not only derive no inheritance from him, but could never derive any title to land, or other privileges, since the course of transmission would be stopped in him. Romilly was ready to show that the law had become perverted by change of circumstances, being made a penalty when such was not the original intention: but Garrow did not want to hear any explanation, and thought it a very good penalty, and that society would go to pieces if such penalties were taken away; and he opposed the Bill. It was thrown out in the session of 1813, but passed the next year, so far as it extended to removing corruption of blood for attainder, except in cases of treason, petit-treason, and other murders. By a subsequent relaxation of the law (3 & 4 Wm. IV. c. 106, 310), the descendants of an attainted person may derive a title through him to a remoter ancestor. This is very well; but it remains to be hoped that the nation may become of Blackstone's opinion, that "the whole doctrine should be antiquated by one undistinguishing law." The other Bill, for abolishing the barbarous parts of the sentence for high treason, had actually passed through Committee on the 9th of April, 1813, when a motion was made and carried that the Bill should be read that day six months: "so that," as Romilly wrote at the time, "the Bill is lost, and the Ministers have the

Pollit Pte. i. 218.

Comment ii. 254. 256. iv. 389.

Memoirs, iii. 100.

1812-14. glory of having preserved the British law, by which it is ordained that the heart and the bowels of a man convicted of treason shall be torn out of his body while he is yet alive." It is scarcely credible that legislators should have stood up, in our day, night after night, discussing and advocating the provisions for cutting off heads, dividing the trunk, and leaving or not leaving susceptibility of pain when the heart was to be searched for. And it was not to be the last debate. The whole disgusting matter must be gone over again the next year.—The next year, Lord Ellenborough stealthily got the Bill altered in the Lords—quietly amended without debate—in order to preserve something of the barbarism which they were always unwilling to part with. The Commons had abrogated all the barbarism except the putting to death. The Lords actually re-enacted the quartering after death. In this, they were hardly so antiquarian as they should have been. They should have remembered the origin of the sentence, in the time of Edward I., and in the case of Prince David of Wales. Each part of the infliction was then a separate sentence, assigned as a consequence of a separate offence, duly specified. If these lords were uncongenial with their own age in providing for the cutting up of a warm human body before the eyes of a multitude, they were no less inconsistent in their character of legislators of the age of Edward I. We find in Romilly's Diary a characteristic note of Lord Eldon's of this date, which shows, more clearly than any description could do, the mode in which his mind worked, on such occasions as this; and also the empirical treatment to which legislation of the most serious kind has been subjected in our day. One paragraph of the note is this: "I entertain a doubt whether the sentence should be further changed than merely taking away the cutting down alive and drawing, without a hurdle. The King can pardon the quartering; and if he does not, the sentence, if the party is hanged till he is dead, is not more severe than in murder." Romilly expressed his disgust at the retention of part of the butchery; pointed out that if it were to be always excused, the provision should not stand as part of the law; and if not excused, that it was morally pernicious in the highest degree: but he accepted the amendments, rather than lose the Bill. It passed in July, 1814.

High Treason Sentence.

Memoirs of Romilly, iii. 147, 148.

Hemingford & followers.

Memoirs, iii. 148.

Renewal of the East India Company's Charter.

In 1813, the India Company's Charter had to be renewed, and the Company found it less easy to obtain their own terms than in a former century. It so happened, that somewhere about 1808, a Liverpool merchant, the most honoured of his class, Mr. William Rathbone, was in London, and, struck with the spectacle of the Company's shipping, he inquired of a London merchant at his elbow, why such a trade—a trade so great, and capable of such unlimited expansion—was quietly left to be the property of a corporation. His friend replied by convincing him of the overwhelming power of the corporation in London, under whose shadow

no discontent could stir with impunity; and the two agreed that, whenever any movement was made, it must be in the provinces. Mr. Rathbone was not a man to loiter over any work which he saw ought to be done. He stirred up Liverpool, Glasgow, Paisley, and Manchester, to demand an opening of the trade; and by the time the Charter was to be renewed, the movement had proceeded so far that a considerable relaxation of the monopoly was easily obtained. From this time forward, British merchants were permitted to trade to the territories of the Company, and to India generally; though none but the Company might traffic with China. Henceforth, the Company were to keep their territorial and commercial accounts separate. They protested that all this was very foolish: they could prove that they had carried commerce to its furthest possible limit in that quarter of the world: their warehouses were glutted with Indian commodities for which there was no sale: the Company suffered loss in their exports: to open the outports to the trade would be no other than "a ruinous transfer of it into new channels, to the destruction of immense and costly establishments, and the beggary of many thousands of industrious individuals." So said the Company. The merchants, however, desired to try what private enterprise could do. They were authorized to try, to the extent just mentioned: with what result will appear when we have to speak of the next renewal of the Company's charter, in 1833.—The trade was opened on the 10th of April, 1814.

1812-14.

Polit. Dic., i. 795.

Resolutions of Court, Jan. 26, 1813.

1814.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH IN INDIA.

The opportunity was used for establishing Episcopacy in India. There had been devoted Missionaries there, in honourable succession: but we learn from Wilberforce that there was little concert, and much difference among them. There can be no doubt that in the religious world a most unphilosophical ignorance prevailed as to the impediments in the way of conversion of both Mohammedans and Hindoos. Thus, little or nothing was done, while some valuable lives were sacrificed. At this time, the news had just arrived of the death—the most dreary death—in Persia, of the devoted Henry Martyn. "The great mass of Anglo-Indians" were confident that the propagation of Christianity in India would be the overthrow of British dominion there; and their opposition to missionary effort was what might be expected from such a conviction. On the other hand, the religious world never admitted a doubt of our being able to Christianize all India, if we only tried: and of course, it was a heavy weight upon their minds that we did not try, but left the souls of a hundred millions of heathens to perish. Wilberforce declares, repeatedly, the recognition of Christian teaching in India to be "the greatest object man ever pursued,"—"the greatest that ever interested the heart, or engaged the efforts, of man." The result of a long and hard contest in both Houses of parliament, and of much religious excitement

Life, iv. 101.

1812-14. throughout the kingdom, was that a Resolution (the 13th) was passed in regard to the affairs of the India Company, that sufficient facilities should be afforded by law for the admission of moral and religious teachers in India, respect being had to the existing guarantees for religious liberty on every hand; and that by another Resolution (the 12th) a Bishop and two archdeacons were to be sent out, to preside over the Church in India. This last measure was for the benefit, primarily, of the British in India; as the other was for the natives. Hitherto, there had been only three Christian churches open in the whole realm of India, and the Bishop of London had been the Diocesan of this dependency, as of so many colonies in all parts of the world. In 1814, there was a Bishop of Calcutta, with a salary of £5,000 a year: and in ten years more, the beloved Heber went forth, watched by the loving eyes of a multitude, to that great new world of pastoral duty. He lived less than three years: but his image is the one that rises in the heart, at any mention of the Establishment of Christianity in India.

Hansard, xxvi. 562.

Education. While this anxiety was shown about India, not a word was spoken in parliament about enlightening the heathens at home. Since 1807, when Mr. Whitbread pleaded for Education, and Mr. Windham deprecated it, the subject had not been mentioned at all. There was some stir in society. In 1808, it had been found that Joseph Lancaster could not carry on his plans, from pecuniary embarrassment; and five generous men subscribed largely, and, as trustees, lifted up the man and his work out of difficulty, and into a fair field for the trial of his scheme.—In 1812, we find notices of attempts to open the National Schools to Dissenters, for whom nothing more was asked than that they should be permitted to attend their own places of worship. Such license was, however, declared to be incompatible with the principle of the society. In none of the schools of that time—neither the Lancaster, nor the National, nor the Infant, nor the Adult Schools—was the quality of the instruction given such as could be approved at the present day. We have nothing to boast of yet; but we have become aware that it is a very questionable benefit to seclude children from the active business of life—to cut them off for five, seven, or ten, years from learning the craft they are to live by, if we give them nothing in return but such a miserable pretence of learning as was furnished by popular schools in the early years of the century. It was rare to find a boy of fourteen, coming out of any of these schools, who could read pleasantly and intelligently, and write a letter freely, or keep accounts, while he was too probably sick of the Bible from its having been made a class-book. His father naturally thought that he would have been better employed in the fields or the workshop. It was difficult to find a girl who could do any thing but spell and scrawl, under the name of reading and writing, and sew in the most ordinary manner; and her mother naturally thought

that her years would have been better spent in the dairy or the kitchen, or in learning to tend the children. The intellects of the scholars were not brightened; nor was any thing like sound knowledge given them. The real aim of education was, in fact, not yet understood, nor the process philosophically considered. The Adult schools which were set up about this time were a curious illustration of this. It was an excellent thing to let uninstructed adults feel that knowledge was for them as for others; and to encourage them to meet in the evenings for purposes of improvement: but it seems to us now a strange mistake to have spent their precious hours on the alphabet and pot-hooks. With their unused faculties relating to arbitrary signs, with their stiff fingers, and years so long past the time for perception and retention, it was found weary work to them to learn reading and writing; and so slow that, in the same time, they might have obtained and heartily enjoyed a considerable amount of more animating knowledge. The amiable and earnest Wilberforce was one of the leaders in this well-meant scheme. He opened a room, and established teachers, and himself complimented the pupils on their good sense in coming. "You would have been delighted," wrote an observer, "with seeing him seated by the old ladies, with the utmost patience, kindness, and humility, fairly teaching them their letters." It was much to have called out the spirit and the example: better methods were yet to come. 1812-14. Life, iv. 219.

In 1813, the activity of Bible Societies was at its height. It is now interesting to look back upon, as a clear evidence of the growing sense of the popular needs. To a certain extent, also, this broadcast sowing of the Word was a blessing. The blessing was obvious: the objections lay more out of sight. There were, however, many at the time, and there have been more since, who asked, whether it was not a large thing to take for granted that the hundreds of thousands to whom the Bible was given could read and use it; and whether it was a fitting gift, in the way of charity, to so very large a number as were supposed to need such a charity. There could be no doubt of the benefit of rendering the Book accessible to all who desired to have it: but there was much more question of the piety and wisdom of thrusting it upon those who were unprepared for its use. The objections became stronger when the foreign department of the business was brought forward, and it appeared that we were throwing the Scriptures into the laps of heathen nations, with no appreciable chance of making them Christians, and a certainty of shockingly desecrating Christianity if we did not. There is no need to go into the painful details of the absurd mistakes made on the most solemn subjects, in our eagerness to put our sacred books before the minds of nations occupied with sacred books of their own; nor of the bad effects at home of making the most peculiar, difficult, and vast of all books, a sort of BIBLE SOCIETIES.

1812-14. waste commodity among a multitude, who were compelled to receive it without knowing how to use it. Coleridge's remark on the matter is well known. Seeing how the Bible was regarded, even by the educated classes, as the revelation itself, and not as the record of the revelation; and how, therefore, the tendency of the time was to make it be considered a talisman, and to cause its diffusion as a talisman, among the whole people, in all conditions of mind, Coleridge observed that we had quitted Idolatry, but had fallen into Bibliolatry. Amidst all the Bible Society zeal of 1813, we find writers calm enough to object to any spiritual objects being adopted as one of the "rages" which are always succeeding each other in every metropolis. In this instance, the rage spread from London all over the country. By the end of the year, there was scarcely a town or village in England which had not some sort of Bible Society; and, in all the principal towns, annual meetings were held, for some years from this time, at which the most popular religious orators appeared—making a sort of festival for the religious world of each district.

Ann. Reg., 1813, p. 102.

Joanna Southcote.

At this time a sect was rising up—already considerable in numbers—which proved that mere Bible reading does not give religious enlightenment to the otherwise ignorant. An aged woman was, in 1813, attending a chapel in St. George's Fields, which was always crowded with people eager to see her. Joanna Southcote was regarded as a prophetess; and she now, when on the very confines of life, declared herself pregnant with the true Messiah. She was, in fact, diseased in body, and ignorant (though full of texts) and superstitious enough to be able to deceive herself as much as others. It was a sore mystery, she said with bitter tears, to the disciples round her dying bed, when telling them that her mission now seemed all a delusion; it was a sore mystery that she, who had been reading the Bible all her life, should have had such a heavy burden as this laid upon her. In the summer of 1814, there were some thousands of persons—above 500 in Birmingham alone—looking for the appearance of the Messiah: and the more their suspense was protracted, the stronger grew their faith. At the close of the year, the poor woman died: but her followers had no idea of giving up. "The arm of the Lord was not shortened, that he could not save;" he would yet raise her up, and give her the promised son. The case would hardly be worth more than a passing allusion, but for the fact that the faith and the sect are not extinct yet—at a distance of nearly forty years. There are still followers of Joanna Southcote, meeting for worship in a town here and there; and their interpretation of the Scriptures, to support their own case, is an outstanding appeal for the promotion of popular education. It is not necessary for this that Joanna's followers should all have been poor people. It is true that the gorgeous cradle, in which the Messiah was to be rocked, was given by "a lady of fortune;" and

Annual Reg., 1814. Chron. p. 76.

that the silver cup and salver, with the globe and the dove, were presented by middle-class contributors; and that a London physician sat, as a believer, by the bedside of the prophetess; but the bulk of the sect were poor; and the whole may be pronounced ignorant. 1812-14.

In 1813, Mr. Vansittart announced a new plan of Finance, and carried his proposal, in the teeth of the opposition of every economist in parliament. The subject of the Debt will recur where it must be more fully treated of than is necessary here: and it need only be said now that, in 1813, the nation paid taxes to the amount of 176,346,023*l.*; and yet, that Mr. Vansittart believed our financial affairs to be so flourishing that he was growing uneasy about the vast power that would be in the hands of Parliament whenever the Sinking Fund should have nearly paid off the Debt. He now proposed to tamper with that fund; and could not see that to divert it from its purpose was to break faith with the national creditor. We find him telling parliament that the Sinking Fund has already redeemed 240,000,000*l.* — the whole amount of the Debt at the time of its institution: whereas, every financier now knows that the Debt was, at this date, heavier by 11,000,000*l.* than if no Sinking Fund had been instituted. Since the Peace of Amiens, 420,000,000*l.* had been added to the capital of the Debt. The true method of redemption, by means of Terminable Annuities, had, by this time, been entered upon. It began in 1808: but it was not on this that Mr. Vansittart built his hopes and expectations. After providing for paying a debt on one hand by borrowing at higher interest on the other, he now proposed to alter and amend the Acts relating to the reduction of the Debt, admitting thereby the control of parliament over funds excluded by those Acts from parliamentary interference. The fallacy of the Sinking Fund system, as then managed, was not apparent to the nation during the war—so completely was its operation hidden by the process of raising annual loans, to cover deficiencies. At the close of the war, when, in the absence of loans, Parliament borrowed from the Sinking Fund Commissioners, year after year, people began to perceive how delusive had been the notion that the Debt had ever diminished at all; and, as we shall see, the mischievous child's play came to an end. By that time, men were wondering how Mr. Vansittart could have obtained his majorities in 1813. His doctrine was, simply, that obedience to the Acts only required that the Debt should be paid off in forty-five years from the institution of the Sinking Fund; and that it was justifiable, and would be now prudent, to take whatever was left over from the sum necessary for this, and apply it to general purposes, to save the necessity of imposing new taxes. It cannot be necessary to expose the fallacy and bad faith of this scheme to readers who, long after the expiration of the forty-five years, are

Political Dictionary, ii. 404.

Hansard, xxiv. 1081.

1812-14. living under a Debt which has been largely increased instead of abolished.

Stock Exchange Fraud.

Annual Reg., 1814. Chron. p. 19.

In February, 1814, an incident occurred which appears not to have been explained to the satisfaction of any body, to this day. A person, dressed in a nondescript officer's uniform, with a long beard, wet clothes, and an appearance of extreme fatigue, appeared in the middle of the night in Dover, declaring that he had just landed from a boat, and must proceed instantly to London, to announce the death of Napoleon. He paid his way, even at the toll-bars, with Napoleons. The bustle at the Stock Exchange was just what his employers intended to create. A plot of the same sort was prepared, and partly enacted, at Northfleet, in case of the miscarriage of the Dover scheme. Lord Cochrane, with others,

Lord Cochrane.

was tried in the Court of King's Bench, found guilty of being one of the authors of this extraordinary fraud, and condemned to a year's imprisonment, a fine of 1,000*l.*, and the pillory. Much sympathy was naturally felt, from the outset, with an officer who had served his country bravely and effectually; and when the evidence against him on the trial was so strong as to stagger his nearest friends, the sympathy was kept up by the injustice of the procedure, and the enormity of the sentence. All England revolted at the sentence of the pillory for such an offence, though England had not yet revolted at the pillory in all cases. That part of the

Hansard, xxviii. 606.

sentence was not inflicted. Lord Cochrane was expelled from the House of Commons by a large majority; but immediately re-elected for Westminster. Some of the electors, we are assured, believed him innocent; and most declared him to have been unfairly tried. He was, for a quarter of a century, stopped in his professional career: that is, he served with a bravery almost eccentric, and a genius which would have raised him to the summit of fame, but for the drawback of this transaction. At length, he received the title of Lord Dundonald, and was held to have emerged from the cloud which had so long obscured his name and fortunes.

Extraordinary Weather.

The winter of 1814 was so remarkable in regard to weather, that some of the facts should be recorded. The suspension of business, and even of the mails, was extremely inconvenient. Every effort was made to forward the mails—by a chaise and four here—by men on horseback there; but for several weeks, not even government could be sure of its letters on the right day. The

Ann. Reg., 1814. Chron. 13.

portreeve of Tavistock set out, one January day, to take the oaths of his office at the Quarter Sessions, only thirty-two miles off; but, at the end of twenty-one miles, he was stopped by snow and ice; and there he was detained for twenty-six days, unable to communicate with home, or any other place than the village in which he was imprisoned. Soldiers were frozen to death on the road, in their march from town to town. The snow drifted in the streets to such a height that the shops were closed: and the accumulation

of ice and snow about London bridge was such that the passage was nearly closed by the middle of January. By the 1st of February, the Thames was completely frozen over. A bullock was roasted whole on the ice: booths were erected, and a kind of fair held, where the citizens, whose business was stopped, amused their enforced leisure. This stoppage of business was by this time so serious a matter—and chiefly from the failure of the remittances on which the merchants depended for taking up their bills—that all the powers of the Post Office were put forth to compel the overseers of parishes and surveyors of highways to clear the roads. Near Huntingdon, a strange sight was seen when several days had elapsed without the arrival of any mail. An official personage was sent down from the General Post Office, with orders to get the mails to and from the north through, at all hazards. The mail-coach appeared at length, completely filled and loaded with bags, and drawn by ten exhausted horses, which had forced and floundered their way through banks and hills of snow.—It was a dreary season for many a wife and mother, whose husband did not return, and could not be heard of. The children must be kept warm and amused at home, all day long; and they had not even the diversion of looking out of the windows; for the snow was drifted against them. It was difficult to communicate with the butcher: and, as for coals, if the stock ran low, there were no more to be had. No coals could get to London; and there was no passage by any of the rivers. Where there was an attempt to hold a market, no poultry or vegetables were to be seen: and the people could not endure the cold—either sellers or buyers. The waterpipes were all frozen: and the snow was melted for water—the pails of thawing snow within the fenders making the house insufferably cold. The only alternative was to take up the plugs in the streets; and then, if the water came, it was immediately transformed into dangerous sheets of ice. Amidst such domestic discomfort, many a mistress of a household was left for weeks uncertain of the fate of her husband—if he happened to be in any of the hilly districts of the island. The Solway was frozen over, for the first time within the memory of living men. Many were the boats and coasting vessels, whose crews were kept starving and shivering out at sea, from the heaping of ice about the shores. On land, one of the gravest apprehensions was of fire: for there would be great difficulty in putting it out. Several bad fires did happen during the period of frost; but a worse occurred just after water was once more seen in the Thames. 1812-14.

BURNING OF THE CUSTOM HOUSE.

In the Great Fire of London, the Custom House was one of the buildings destroyed. It was replaced by one which was thought very grand in its day; but it was found to be inconveniently small in the beginning of the 18th century. In 1718, it was burned down; and a much larger one was erected in its stead. This larger

1812-14. one was found, in its turn, too small for the increased commerce of a century; and a new one had been planned, during late years, and was actually begun when, on the 12th of February, 1814, the existing Custom House was burned down to the ground. The building itself was not much to be regretted; but an untold amount of property perished; and, worse still, papers of inestimable value. The coral and pearls, the silks, the books, the bank-notes, the pictures, were a great loss: but much more lamentable was the destruction of antique documents, relating to the commerce of past centuries. Bonds, debentures, and securities of various kinds, perished to such an amount as to derange the transactions of commerce, and threaten the resources of government to a formidable extent. Vessels ready to clear out on the breaking up of the ice were detained: one merchant lost 6,000*l.* worth of bank-notes—the list of their numbers being locked up with them. By an explosion of gunpowder in the cellars, bundles and fragments of burnt paper were scattered on the roads at Dalston and Hackney; and a packet of singed debentures was picked up in Spital Square. There was now every inducement to press forward the erection of the new Custom House. The first stone had been laid by Lord Liverpool in the preceding October; and the present building was opened for business on the 12th of May, 1817. Many people afterwards thought that the speed had been too great. The site—the old bed of the river—was a difficult one for such a foundation as was required. Within ten years, the foundations of the Long Room gave way. Examination of the facts was made by a Parliamentary Committee, in 1828; and a severe censure was passed upon the architect. An additional expense of above 170,000*l.* was incurred; and the cost of our Custom House, of the present century, was thereby raised to nearly half a million sterling. It is a matter of curious speculation how soon it will be outgrown by the National Commerce, and what will become of it. We may hope that warning enough has been given by the fate of its three predecessors; and that it will not be destroyed by fire.

Annual Reg., 1814, Chron. 12.

New Custom House.

CHAPTER IX.

1813-15.

A MONTH after Napoleon's return to Paris, the remains of his great "Army of Russia" began to drop in after him. It was a mere fragment that retained any organization; but a considerable number of soldiers returned singly. The Emperor's addresses were more boastful than ever. He announced that the British had failed in Spain, and that England was on the verge of destruction from civil, as well as foreign, war. He offered his sympathy to the Americans, in their warfare with England, and assured them that they were supported by the enmity of all Europe against their foe. It was now necessary to settle many affairs, as he was going forth to war again. He dismissed the Pope to Avignon, on terms which the Pope at first agreed to, but afterwards wished to retract: but, having once dismissed him, Napoleon had no time to attend to the Holy Father's changes of mind. Next, he appointed a regency, in case of accident during his absence from Paris. The Empress was to be Regent, during the minority of their son. Then, prodigious efforts were made to raise men and money for the approaching campaign. As taxation could be carried no further, a sufficient portion of the property of the Communes was taken by the government, an equivalent amount of annual income being given to the Communes in the form of titles to dividends on stock. This had the appearance of a desperate measure; and so had the method of raising men; and Napoleon's enemies were inspirited accordingly. It was not only that the conscription for 1814 was forestalled, while that of 1813 was hardly yet in operation: it was that the sons of the nobles, and gentry, and commercial classes, were now compelled to serve in person. Hitherto, they had provided substitutes at prodigious cost: now, they must serve in person. There was, no doubt, a double object in this. Napoleon had been called home from Russia by a conspiracy in Paris, which was barely prevented. The aristocratic youth whom he was now to take with him into the field would serve as hostages, while they were called his Guard of Honour, and added 10,000 to his soldiery.

NAPOLEON'S RENEWED EFFORTS.

Alexander of Russia had met Bernadotte, Prince Royal of Sweden (Napoleon's former general) in the preceding autumn;

NEW COMPACT OF ALLIES.

1813-15. and they had made an alliance. Now the King of Prussia went to Breslau, to meet Alexander, and made an alliance with him also. He called upon his subjects to rise as one man, to throw off the yoke of the French despot. Austria talked of making peace between the foes; but, while she talked, she was arming. Hamburg rose; the Confederation of the Rhine was declared to be dissolved; and the French left Dresden and Berlin.

The French, however, soon entered Dresden and Berlin again. At the beginning of the campaign, Napoleon was victorious, though at the cost of a prodigious slaughter of his hardly raised troops. The battles of Lützen and Bautzen, which gave Napoleon the possession of Dresden, were fought with the utmost obstinacy on the part of the Allies; yet they were defeated, and compelled to retire. Napoleon appeared to be unable to follow up his victories; and he agreed to an armistice, extending from the 5th of June to the 22d of July.

The Allies defeated.

Armistice.

This armistice was proposed by Austria—Austria all the while intending to join the Allies, and knowing that the Allies were pledging themselves to England to prosecute the war with vigour, England supplying the money. It was during this armistice, while Napoleon was appearing to amuse himself at Berlin with the actors he had sent for to Paris, and while he was punishing the Hamburghers for their late rising, that Wellington won the Battle of Vittoria. The Allies heard how the French were driven, pell-mell, hungry and barefoot, through the passes of the Pyrenees; and the news was cheering. They, and their enemy, pretended to be waiting for a grand conference, to be conducted by Austria, on the 5th of July, to arrange terms of peace: and the armistice was extended to the 10th of August, to allow abundance of time for debate.

Conference, *July* 29, 1813.

The conference did not begin till the 29th of July. The terms then proposed to Napoleon involved more sacrifice than he chose to make. He agreed to some stipulations, but refused others; and his reply, written on the 9th of August, did not reach the Allies till the date of the armistice was past. Austria declared it now too late to enter upon any new discussion, unless by the permission of Alexander. The next incident was, that Austria published her declaration of war; and Napoleon found that he had been tricked into allowing his enemies time to mature their plans against him, when he should have been following up the successes of the spring. No man was less entitled to complain of trickery; and this makes it the more surprising that he should have allowed himself to be outwitted by the crafty Metternich of Austria, the double-minded Frederick William of Prussia, and the cunning Alexander of Russia, who was as manœuvring as he was sentimental. Bernadotte had come down, with a great force, to take care of Berlin, when Napoleon should leave it. Napoleon's old

Austrian Declaration of War.

general, Moreau, appeared at Alexander's head-quarters, on the side of the Allies; and Jomini, the head of Ney's staff, went over also, carrying full information of the French plans of the campaign. There was some doubt whether Murat would not follow Austria: but he arrived in August to aid Napoleon. In a few weeks, Bavaria joined the Allies: and Saxony was compelled to shift for herself. At the close of the campaign, the yet undecided German States turned against the falling Emperor: and before the end of the year, his last ally, Denmark, made a separate armistice; and he was left quite alone. Thus it was on the Christmas day of 1813; though on the 10th of August, Napoleon had been unquestionably the victor in the campaign of the preceding months. 1813-15.

As the truce came to an end, the Allies defiled back into Bohemia, in order to form a junction with the Austrian forces: and Prince Marshal Blücher, the great Prussian general, was bearing back the French who were in Silesia. Napoleon insisted, against the advice of his generals, on carrying his main force in this direction; and Blücher of course retreated before him. This was what the Allies intended; and they poured down upon Saxony behind him, to cut off his communications: and by the 25th of August, 120,000 men, with 500 pieces of cannon, were on the hills round Dresden. If they had made the attempt, they might have occupied Dresden that day: but the Austrian commander desired to wait; and by the next day, Napoleon was within sight. He entered Dresden amidst showers of balls, having left his carriage, and crept on his hands and knees over the most exposed part of the approach. In the great battle of the 27th (in which Moreau received his death-wound), Napoleon had so decidedly the advantage, that the Allies resolved to retreat, in order to effect a junction with Blücher's force, which was coming on from Silesia. Poor Moreau wrote to his wife from his death-bed, "that rascal Bonaparte is always fortunate." He was now, however, tasting the last of his good fortune. The battle of Dresden was the last pitched battle he ever gained. Having no foresight of this, he was in the highest spirits on the 28th, when he advanced up the river to Pirna.

Alison's History, ix. 449.

BATTLE OF DRESDEN, *August 27th.*

On the 30th, his general Vandamme was totally defeated, not far from him, at Culm, and taken prisoner. While the struggle was going forward in the defiles of the Bohemian mountains, Napoleon was gaily calculating the consequences of victory on that side, and how long it would require to take possession of Berlin. "Well," he said, after hearing the news, "this is war. High in the morning; low enough at night." It was a severe blow to him, that, after the battle of Dresden, the Allies should yet enter Prague as conquerors; and he admitted afterwards that the misfortune was owing to his not having supported Vandamme by his force from Pirna. He was not yet aware that his force in

CULM, *August 30th.*

1813-15. Silesia, under Marshal Macdonald, had been totally routed by Blücher on the 26th. In the battle of the Katzbach and the consequent proceedings, the French loss amounted to 25,000 men; while that of the Allies did not exceed 4,000. It was by a surprise, in the midst of weather which destroyed the bridges over swollen torrents, that the French suffered so fearfully, and not by hard fighting. There had been a defeat in another quarter, at a still earlier date (the 23rd), which it yet remained for Napoleon to hear of; and it cost him more mortification than those nearer at hand, though it was not in reality so important. It was a point of pride with him to establish himself at Berlin: and it was a matter of pique to humble Bernadotte—his old servant, who was now opposing an army of Swedes, Prussians, and Russians, to the French force under Oudinot near Berlin. By the victory of Bernadotte and his allies at Gross-Beeren, Oudinot was driven back, and the Prussian capital was saved. Luckau surrendered to the Allies; and the French reinforcements, from whom much had been hoped, fled back into Magdeburg for refuge. Thus in a single week —in the same week in which he gained the battle of Dresden— Napoleon's armies sustained three tremendous defeats; and his plans for the campaign were broken up.

KATZBACH, *August 26th.*

GROSS-BEEREN, *August 23rd.*

It was hard to persuade him to give up going to Berlin, even now: but Macdonald's army was in so desperate a state in Silesia, and Blücher so triumphant, that the Emperor consented to take again the road to Bautzen, where he had conquered in May. Blücher again retired; and while Napoleon followed, Bernadotte and his Prussian allies beat the French again, under Marshal Ney, in the battle of Dennewitz. Ney had been sent to replace Oudinot in the command of the army of the Elbe; but his defeat was the worse of the two. There was no hope now of preserving the French line, from Hamburg to Dresden, which had been Napoleon's main idea in this autumn campaign. He immediately resolved to draw in his forces within call from Dresden. His advisers entreated him to remain within that range, as it appeared that the Allies did not strike their severest blows where he was present: but we find him, so late as the 7th of September, still planning a triumphant entry into Berlin, after defeating Bernadotte. The next morning, however, the sound of Russian guns told him that he was wanted on the Bohemian side. He pressed back the Russians over the frontier, but did not engage them when he might have done so with advantage. His spirit was evidently shaken. His soldiers showed themselves as brave as ever; but he had lost 30,000 of them in three weeks; and a gloom settled down on the rest, which was increased by every symptom of indecision on his part.

DENNEWITZ, *September 6th.*

SUFFERINGS OF THE FRENCH.

By the end of September he must make up his mind. He and his army must go somewhere, for Saxony was exhausted. No

more food for men or horses was to be had; and the Allies were daily pouncing on convoys in the rear, and cutting off his communications there. In Dresden, where 15,000 wounded were accumulated, typhus fever broke out, and carried off hundreds of victims in a day. By the Emperor's order, the mad-houses were taken for lodgings, and the insane were turned into the streets;—a horrible incident of the time. In six weeks from the end of the truce, the French force was smaller by 160,000 men. The Allies had lost 80,000; but they were reinforced to a greater amount. Their troops had room, health, food, hope, and good spirits. 1813-15. Alison's History, ix. 540.

NAPOLEON'S VACILLATION.

"I will not go out again: I will wait," Napoleon said, when he returned to Dresden, after his visit to the Bohemian frontier: and in that nest of disease and misery he did wait, to see what opportunity the Allies would give to attack them on some unguarded part. Meanwhile, Blücher and his Prussians were already gone northwards, had crossed the Elbe, in spite of Marmont, and were now joining Bernadotte. When the grand army of the Allies, hitherto south of him, was marching westwards, it was clear that the intention was to hem him in. Dresden was no place for him now, he said. His new line must be from Erfurth to Magdeburg. He could do nothing with Dresden, or from it. So he thought one night; but the next morning, he had changed his mind, and ordered that the city should be held to the last extremity, while he went out against Bernadotte, and to enter Berlin. He could not give up this hope, though now it had become foolish. As his soldiers left Saxony, they were to carry off all the cattle, burn the woods, and cut down the fruit-trees;—these fruit-trees and cattle being the property of his only ally. The enemy, however, coming up wherever he retreated, saved the fruit-trees and the inestimable woods.

REMONSTRANCE OF HIS MARSHALS.

The crisis was now at hand. When Napoleon had made up his mind to occupy the yet untouched country of north Germany, between the Elbe and the Oder, himself wintering at Berlin, his Marshals remonstrated, in a body, against the scheme. They had found themselves unsuccessful against the Allies whenever he was not present: and they apprehended the utter destruction of his armies, if the Allies were permitted to intercept their return to France. The Marshals desired an immediate march upon Leipsic. The argument was still proceeding when the news arrived that Bavaria had joined the Allies; and this event settled the matter. The Emperor had been aware that it was to happen: but his Generals had not; and he could no longer hold out against their remonstrances.

RETREAT.

He ordered a retreat to Leipsic, well knowing that a critical battle must be fought on the way back to France, and that defeat would be fatal to his fortunes. He had to fight his way through 250,000 of the enemy, without magazines, and leaving behind, or

1813-15. on the Elbe, his reserve artillery, and his garrisons in the strong places which he still held. He arrived at Leipsic on the 15th of October. It was here that the great battle was to be fought. The French forces were concentrated, and placed on the north side of the city. The Allies had also united their armies, and occupied the ground south of the city—Blücher's force alone holding a position on the north. At midnight on the 15th, the French were quiet before their watch-fires: and they saw two rockets sent up from the Austrian General's quarters in the south, answered by three coloured ones from Blücher's station. It was a sign that all was ready. At day-break, a stirring proclamation was read at the head of every regiment of the Allied army, while Napoleon did not address his soldiers at all. His soldiers had ceased to trust in his star: and this singular omission made them suppose that he had lost confidence too.

First Battle of Leipsic. *October 16th.* The first battle began at nine in the morning of the 16th of October, and for some time went well for the Allies. At noon, however, Napoleon nearly succeeded by means of his old method—a fierce push at the enemy's centre. It was under the guidance of his own old soldier, Jomini, now at Alexander's elbow, that he was baffled. The centre was strengthened by Alexander's reserves; and the Austrian reserves, which had been placed far away on the other side the river Pleisse, were brought up. Napoleon had too hastily sent word to the King of Saxony, in Leipsic, that the day was his, and desired him to set the bells ringing for the victory. By three o'clock, the Austrian reserves were on the ground; in two hours, the French could with difficulty sustain themselves in any quarter; and between five and six, Napoleon made his last desperate effort—aware that by the next day 100,000 fresh troops would have come up against him. He drove a heavy column, of his best troops, reformed—against a weak point: but, after a transient success, he was repulsed; and darkness put an end to the contest. If he had been the aggressor, and on the advance, Napoleon might have made light of the issue of this battle. It was not, in itself, a great victory gained by the Allies. But he was in retreat; and not to conquer was to be ruined. He did not at once admit that he must retreat. He endeavoured first to open secret negotiations with his father-in-law of Austria. By means of an Austrian prisoner, he sent to the camp of the two Emperors an offer to retire behind the Rhine till the conclusion of a general peace, if they would now agree to an armistice.

On the evening of the 17th, no answer had been returned; and Napoleon prepared for another battle. The conflict of yesterday had been less decisive than either party had expected. That of to-morrow must be an affair of life or death to the French. At nine, again, the battle began; and again it continued till night. In the midst of the conflict, the Saxon regiments, cavalry

Second Battle. *October 18th.*

and infantry, with all their artillery, went over to the Russians; and the Wirtemberg horse followed. Before the evening, it was evident that the French, overpowered by numbers, could not hold Leipsic; and night closed on their retreat. Blücher saw from a height the long trains of carriages that filled the highway to France. Napoleon and his Marshals sat down to confer on their position, with the fires of the enemy blazing almost all round them. The failure of ammunition decided the question of retreat without pause. Napoleon was so worn out, that he dropped asleep in his chair. When he presently awoke, his unguarded words were very affecting to his councillors: "Am I awake," he said, gazing round upon them, "or is it a dream?" He sent a message to the King of Saxony, desiring him to do the best he could for himself, as the French must return home. Napoleon then entered the city, sat up till daylight, making his arrangements; and by that time his army was in full retreat. At ten o'clock, he bade farewell to the old King and Queen; and was immediately after so nearly taken prisoner, that he escaped only by being shown a back door which opened from a garden upon the river. The only bridge in possession of the French was blown up too soon; and twenty-two generals, 15,000 soldiers, and all the sick and wounded, were made prisoners by the Allies. By two o'clock, all firing had ceased. The losses on both sides were enormous; but the war was supposed to be concluded. On the 19th, the Allied Sovereigns entered Leipsic by different gates, and met in the great square. The bells of the city rang; the people cheered; and their terrible sacrifices were forgotten in the belief that Europe was delivered from the despotism of Napoleon. 1813-15.

RETREAT OF THE FRENCH.

He, meanwhile, was wretched enough. After his escape, he fell asleep in a mill, and was awakened by the blowing-up of the bridge which cost him so large a portion of his remaining troops. His authority was gone. His soldiers did not wait on his eye, or on his word, but broke from all discipline. The Germans left him; and the Allies were now pressing on his rear. At Erfurth, Murat rode away—finding himself, on the sudden, much wanted at home. Napoleon suspected that this dubious brother-in-law was in correspondence with Austria; but he embraced him without reproaches, while feeling that they would probably never meet again.

BATTLE OF HANAU. *October 31st.*

One more engagement took place before he reached the Rhine. The Bavarians endeavoured to intercept him near Frankfort; and Marshal Wrede blocked up his road at Hanau. Napoleon had his Guard with him; and he had the superiority in numbers. Yet more, he and his army were spurred on by despair. They dispersed the enemy, and broke through to the Rhine—thus enjoying a final success, though a small one. Napoleon remained six days at Mayence, to collect the remains of his army, and then turned his

1813-15. back on those German plains where he was never to strike another blow. On the 9th of November he arrived at Paris. Alexander was at Frankfort two days before Napoleon left Mayence: and it was not to be supposed that the conquerors would remain on the German side of the Rhine. Winter was at hand, however; and there must be a pause. The armies went into winter quarters on the opposite banks of the Rhine.

Napoleon at Paris.

Napoleon was now, as has been said, without a single ally. Finding his Senate still obsequious, he ventured to say, in his speech to the Legislature, on the 19th of December, that his great victories in Germany were made useless by the defection of his allies; and that, but for the fidelity and concord of French hearts and minds, France herself would be in danger. Finding the legislative body less pliable than he expected, more disposed for peace, and more aware that it was he who hindered peace, he suppressed their proceedings, and rebuked their leaders with a tyranny as outrageous as in his best days. At the moment that he was thus acting, the Allies were again on the move.

Independence of Holland proclaimed. *Nov. 24th.*

In November, on the 24th, the Independence of Holland was proclaimed, the House of Orange being recalled. In every town in England, the people were spreading the news in the streets that "the Dutch had taken Holland;" a saying which was puzzling to children who were learning geography at school. On the 21st of December the Austrians crossed the Rhine at Basle; thus entering the Swiss territory: and on the last day of the year, Blücher crossed below Coblentz. The constant declaration of the Allies was that they came up against Napoleon, and not against France, whose territory, in all its length and breadth, they were willing to secure to the French nation.

The Allies cross the Rhine.

1814. By this time, Wellington was at Bayonne; and Ferdinand was about to return to Spain. The Allies now advanced to Lyons, and encamped in the basins of the Meuse and the Seine. The people could not have opposed them, if they would, for it was not Napoleon's way to allow the people to be armed. Now, when it was too late, the government newspapers called the people to arms; but there was no appearance of enthusiasm. The Emperor dared not arm the inhabitants of Paris, "the men of the Revolution:" and he allowed nothing better than pikes to the National Guard, whom he caused to be organized, though there were plenty of arms in the arsenal. All this time, there was talk of negotiation; and a congress was appointed to meet at Châtillon-sur-Seine, at the end of January. Its proceedings opened on the 5th of February; but war was going on during all that month. Napoleon threw himself between two bodies of the invaders, and on the 10th wrote his commands that his Commissioners at Châtillon should "sign nothing," as he was about to strike a great blow. He had by this time sustained one defeat, and gained one victory: and the

France and its Revolutions, p. 507.

Congress at Chatillon.

victory had put his soldiers in spirits. On the evening of the 17th of February, the Allies actually proposed an armistice—so severely had they been beaten in detail, owing to an imprudent division of their forces, and to the slowness of the Austrians in their advance to Paris. The Emperor Francis was unwilling to pluck Napoleon from his throne, till it should have been secured for his son; and Schwartzenberg was, no doubt, under orders to gain time, in his march towards the crisis. Napoleon now entered into negotiation with Francis, and presently re-occupied Troyes, which had been held by the Allies for some time. He observed gaily that he was now nearer to Vienna than the Allies were to Paris. He had, however, gained his last victory. The last was that of Montereau, when he drove his enemies back beyond the Seine, on the 18th of February. Though his mood could be gay, it was now oftener irritable and gloomy. No one can wonder at this who considers, not only the depth to which he had sunk in regard to military success, but the work which lay before him, if able to prove himself unconquerable at last. Under the best possible circumstances, the task of raising his exhausted empire into a condition of strength and safety was enough to alarm the boldest. And now, though he was driving back the Allies, they were on French soil, and the French people gave no help in expelling them. It is no wonder that he grew more and more fretful and exacting. He insulted and displaced his generals, and expected of his soldiers more than their worn-out strength could possibly accomplish. He was, in fact, under the last paroxysms of hope and fear, after a long career of contempt of both.

1813-15.

PARTIAL SUCCESS OF NAPOLEON.

In proportion to his occasional hope was the fear of the rest of Europe. In the homes of England, people began to say to each other that Napoleon would not be put down, after all. All that immense force of the Allies invading him, on his own territory, was clearly unable to subdue him. After all the rejoicings, the illuminations, the display of the French eagles in Whitehall, we might still be at war all the rest of our lives. At this critical time, the representative of England at the Congress of Châtillon, Lord Castlereagh, used to the utmost the influence of his government there as paymaster, to free the cause of the Allies from the slowness of Bernadotte, and the hesitation of Austria. If Blücher could be made strong enough to carry on his work in his own way, all might presently be well. This was done; and while the great Austrian army still retired, Blücher, well reinforced, pushed on down the Marne; and, by the 27th, Napoleon considered the danger of Paris so great that he left Troyes, and made haste to check the Prussians.

ALISON'S HISTORY, X. 186.

Meantime, the Allies were entering into a negotiation among themselves, which superseded the work professing to be done at Châtillon. Instead of waiting on Napoleon's changes of mind

TREATY OF CHAUMONT. *March* 1st.

1813-15. and vacillations of counsel at Châtillon, the four great Powers bound themselves, by the Treaty of Chaumont, on the 1st of March, to hold out against Napoleon, if he should refuse the terms offered him. Each of the four Powers was to keep in the field a force of 150,000 men; and Great Britain was to maintain, not only her own force, but those of the other Powers, by an annual subsidy of 5,000,000*l.* There were secret articles, which afterwards guided the counsels of the potentates. The published articles were sad news in England. Just when the overthrow of Napoleon had seemed inevitable, it was in contemplation to raise 5,000,000*l.* a year of war-tax, besides maintaining 150,000 men in the field. For three weeks longer, Napoleon held out, through his Minister at Châtillon, for his stipulation that the Rhine should be the frontier of France; but, as he had gained his last victory, he was soon obliged to yield that point, and every other. By this time, the Royalist party was up and stirring. Of the Bourbon Princes, one was at Bordeaux, and another was with the Allied Army. On the 2nd of March, the strong town of Soissons capitulated to the Prussians. On the 12th, the Bourbons were acknowledged at Bordeaux. On the 19th, Napoleon accepted some of the conditions of the Allies, but demurred to others — being yet unaware of the Treaty of Chaumont. Not doubting that Paris would defend itself, Napoleon proceeded to the rear of the Allies, to gather together the garrisons of his strong places in the east of France. The Allies pressed on, driving the French Marshals and their force of 25,000 men before them; and when the Empress, her child, and Court, left Paris on the 28th, with their money and baggage, the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia were established almost within sight. The citizens had no warning till the country people came crowding in with their cattle, and whatever they could bring in carts. Nothing effectual was done: nor was there any need. The citizens had nothing to fear for themselves. The Allies were the enemies of the Emperor, and not of the French people. When the citizens looked out, on the morning of the 30th, the heights which command Paris were crowded with the foreign troops, to the number of 180,000 men. On that day, Napoleon left his army in the eastern provinces, and travelled with all speed to Paris: but the last conflict did not wait for him. While he was travelling, his Marshals, Marmont and Mortier, were fighting outside the capital. Joseph showed himself as feeble as he had been at Vittoria and every where else. He did not arm the citizens who called for arms. He permitted no man to cross the barriers outwards, while as many as chose might come in. About noon, he gave leave to the Marshals to capitulate. When the Russian balls knocked at the gates, and the cries of the Cossacks were heard under the walls, he fled, having, to the last, called on the people of Paris to defend themselves. To the last, arms were refused to

BOURBON MANIFESTATIONS.

THE ALLIES AT PARIS.

CAPITULATION OF PARIS. *March* 31.

the citizens; yet the Allies found in Paris 30,000 new muskets, above 120 pieces of cannon, and a vast store of ammunition. The Allies lost a great number of men in the battle of Paris, owing to the character of the ground, which was favourable for defence: but it was the final struggle. On the morning of the 31st, the citizens awoke to the news that the Marshals were to evacuate the city that day, and yield it up to the Allies. 1813-15.

ENTRY OF THE ALLIES.

The troops who entered first were so quiet that the shops were presently opened: and, about noon, the Sovereigns and Princes entered, to see Paris looking very like itself. The wildest of the troops were kept at a distance, and the best were brought into the city; and even they were forbidden to go beyond certain limits, in the public places. Some Royalists paraded the streets with a white flag, and endeavoured to raise a cry for the Bourbons; but the people did not seem to understand or care about it; and when the Sovereigns met to prepare their proclamation, and declare their resolution to accept and guarantee such a constitution and government as the French people should form for themselves, the Bourbons were not named. The Allies would not treat with any member of the family of Bonaparte; but they indicated no other family. Prince Schwartzenberg had, in the morning, invited the people of Paris to accelerate the peace of the world by co-operating with the Allies: and the Municipal Council of the capital lost no time in setting about the business.

Life of Lord Sidmouth, iii. 116.

On the 1st of April, they put forth a proclamation declaring "We abjure all obedience to the usurper, and return to our lawful masters." The next day, the Opposition minority of the Senate, who had long been disaffected to Napoleon, elected a Provisional Government, and declared the Bonaparte family excluded from the throne, and the French people released from their allegiance to Napoleon. A sufficient number of the Legislative Chamber agreed to all this; and, on the same day, the Provisional Government began to act. On the 4th, a decree was issued, which ordered that all traces of the late government — all symbols of the reign of Napoleon—should be suppressed and effaced by police agents appointed for the purpose. The leader in these proceedings against the fallen Emperor was Talleyrand; and his coadjutors were men of the same sort—the grossest flatterers of Napoleon in his days of power, and the coolest traitors when his power began to evaporate.

France and its Revolutions, p. 509

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ELECTED, *April* 2.

When Napoleon arrived at Fontainebleau, on the 3rd of April, he collected 65,000 men, and supposed he might hold out. But in the evening arrived a packet from Marmont, containing his correspondence with the Austrian General, which showed that he had gone over to the enemy. The next morning, four of his Marshals and two Councillors came into his presence, and advised him to abdicate. He sent to Paris three Commissioners, to treat with the

1813-15. Allies; and immediately abdicated in favour of his son. The Allies had already declared that they would not treat with any of the family; and all the world could see that there would be no security for peace while Napoleon lived, with his infant son on the throne of France, and his wife as Regent. Alexander told the messengers, "It is too late:" and, the next morning, Marshal Ney made known, through the newspapers, that he had found that no way of avoiding civil war remained but by embracing the cause of the ancient Kings of France. He, now, had gone over to the Allies.

Abdication of Napoleon.

Napoleon struggled on till the 11th, endeavouring to negotiate with his father-in-law on behalf of the child and grandchild who was the bond between them. But here, also, it was "too late." The days preceding the 11th were very wretched. It had been a dreadful blow to the fallen man to hear from the lips of common soldiers on the road, by lamplight, when he was burning his wheels and killing horses in his vehement haste, that Paris had capitulated. Large drops of perspiration stood on his forehead, and his gaze at his attendant was a glare. But there was something worse in the wearing and accumulating grief of these few days at Fontainebleau. Some of his attendants stole away without taking leave: others complained of his delay in completing the act of abdication, and watched the opening of his door, in indecent haste, for the event which was to release them: and, when the thing was done, he found himself almost alone in a deserted house. He was not a man of any heart; and it was not to be expected that he would gain hearts: but he had gratified some affections of his servants, companions, and people: he had gratified their vanity, and had, at all events, long lived upon their praises: and thus, there was as deep a shame in their sordid defection now, as if he had deserved from them a more genuine attachment.

Act of Abdication. *April* 11.

The signature to the act of Abdication is scarcely legible. Napoleon's hand shook violently while he signed. By this treaty, he resigned the crowns of France and Italy for himself and his descendants for ever. He was to retain his title of Emperor; and his family were still to be termed princes and princesses. It was by his own choice that the Island of Elba was named for his place of residence; and it was erected into a Principality for his sake. His income was to be 100,000*l.* a year, from the revenues of the countries he now yielded up; and France was to guarantee the same sum to his descendants. His wife and son were to have the sovereignty of Parma and Placentia; and the Empress Josephine was to have an income of 40,000*l.* from the French government. Napoleon was to take with him 400 French soldiers as his body guard; and 1,500 of his Old Guard were to escort him to the coast.

When Napoleon signed this treaty, on the 11th of April, the

Empress was on her way to him. He sent a messenger on the 12th, to desire her not to come yet. That night, he took poison. He said, during his suffering, that he could no longer endure life: the desertion of his old comrades had broken his heart. The poison, which he is supposed to have worn next his person since the Moscow retreat, had lost much of its power; and, after a sharp struggle, he recovered. He observed that the dose was not strong enough, and that God did not will his death. After that, he seemed content to live. 1813-15.

ATTEMPTED SUICIDE OF NAPOLEON. France and its Revolutions, p. 210.

The Empress never arrived. When she went to her carriage, on the 9th of April, no one of all her Court remained to hand her in but her Chamberlain. All the rest were trying which could get first to Paris. She had then no other idea than of joining her husband and sharing his fortunes; but means were found on the way of informing her of her husband's infidelities, up to a late date; and of convincing her that he married her, not for herself, but for connexion: and she was brought to listen to the counsels of her father and of Alexander, and to abandon Napoleon — like the rest of the world. She set out for Vienna with her son, and Napoleon never saw them again.

DESERTION OF THE EMPRESS.

It was not quite the whole world that deserted the fallen man. The few faithful men who accompanied him to the coast, or to Elba, and then to St. Helena, are, and ever will be, respected wherever their names are known — the Bertrands, Drouot, and Cambronne, and Gourgaud. Napoleon, for some days, believed that it was the Allies who prevented his wife and son, by force, from coming to him: and he refused to set out for Elba, declaring the treaty to have been broken by such an intervention. When convinced that his wife had forsaken him by her own choice, he consented to go. His departure was a mournful scene. He said to his Old Guard that he wished he could embrace them all: as he could not, he embraced the standard which they had so often followed. He actually kissed the eagle, and departed amidst the sobs and tears of the Guard, who, probably, loved him more than any others whom he left behind. At Valence, the troops drawn out to receive him wore the Bourbon cockade: at Avignon, he saw his statues overturned. Further on, matters were worse. His life was in so much danger that he had to escape from a back window, and travel as a courier, with a white cockade on his breast; and again, in the Austrian uniform, to save himself from the crowds that were demanding his head. On the 27th, he reached the coast, at Fréjus; and, on the 28th, he sailed for Elba, where he lived less than ten months. Those could have known little of the philosophy of the human mind who believed that Napoleon could remain in freedom, the sovereign of a little island in the Mediterranean, after the world had been at his feet, and when he did not know why it should not be so again. They might as well have

DEPARTURE FOR ELBA.

1813-15. thrust an eagle into a walled garden, and expected it not to fly away. He remained in Elba less than ten months.

Death of Josephine.

Meantime, Josephine had died. She died in a month after Napoleon left France. He knew, to the last, that no one had ever loved him as she had done. Now that she was dead, and that his living wife had forsaken him, he was so forlorn that it would have been strange if he had not tried what his power might yet be in the fields of ambition.

Despatches, x. 266.

It was on the 7th of the next March, while the Potentates of Europe and their representatives were assembled at Vienna, settling the affairs of Europe in the morning, and enjoying fêtes in the evenings, that Wellington gave the Sovereigns the news that Napoleon had secretly left Elba. The portentous fact was whispered about the ball-room that night, to those most nearly concerned, but concealed from all others. The few who knew walked about among the lights and the music, with a consciousness that a new period of war had set in; while the thoughtless crowd around them were still exchanging the first thoughts and feelings of peace.

What had been done during the interval?

Return of the Bourbons.

On the 13th of April, two days after Napoleon had signed his act of abdication, the brother of the Bourbon claimant of the French throne appeared at the gates of Paris. He was met and welcomed by the Provisional Government, and by Lord Castlereagh, who appeared as the representative of the nation which had played the host to the Bourbons, during their exile. The Prince went to Notre Dame, to return thanks for the restoration of his family. On the 20th, while Napoleon was kissing the eagle, and calling tears from the eyes of his Old Guard, the new King of France was embracing the Prince Regent at the entrance of London, and passing through the streets in grand procession, on his way to take possession of his dominions. Arrived at his hotel, he held his first levee as King, and conferred honours for the first time—taking from his own shoulder the ribbon and star of the order of the Holy Ghost, and putting them on the neck of the Prince Regent. The English princes accompanied him to Dover; and Lord Sidmouth waited on him to Paris. On the 25th, he set foot once more on French soil, amidst the vociferous rejoicings of the people of Calais. On the 3rd of May, he entered Paris. By his side was the Duchess d'Angoulême, the daughter of Louis XVI. Even her presence excited no sentiment among the crowds in the streets: for the people of Paris had no sentiment about the Bourbons. They joked about the fat and gout of the King, and observed that the Duchess d'Angoulême wore the small bonnet then in fashion in England: but, when they saw Napoleon's Guard in the procession, they cried "Long live the Old Guard;" and this was the only cry of the day. The Bour-

Annual Reg., 1814. Chron. p. 34.

bons were not a people to take warning by any signs of popular feeling, small or great. It was soon found, and said of them, that they "had learned nothing, and had forgotten nothing." Their only idea was to rule as the Bourbons had ruled before the Revolution. Nothing could exceed the imprudence of their first measures, and they did nothing, during the ten months of Napoleon's residence in Elba, to create an interest in the place of that which he had left vacant. 1813-15.

On the 30th of May, a Treaty of Peace was concluded between France and the Allies, according to which the boundaries of France were declared to be nearly what they were before the war of 1793. On the day of the signature of the treaty, the strangers—both Princes and soldiers — began to leave Paris. The sovereigns and princes came, in considerable numbers, to England. The Duke of Clarence was quite happy in his share of the business—crossing between Dover and Calais very often, as escort to royal personages, firing salutes, manning his yards, and cheering. Most men were, at that time, like overgrown boys. Wilberforce's affectionate heart, indeed, was sighing for his friend Pitt—longing that he could see and know that we had a peace founded on Napoleon's downfall Lord Eldon's bad taste, always extreme on grand occasions, blazoned itself now on the front of his house, where, on the three nights of illumination, there appeared, in coloured lamps, the words "Thanks to God!" There was something worse than bad taste in other devices, during that illumination. Napoleon appeared in a myriad of transparencies—always in cocked hat and boots — haunted by the Duke d'Enghien, struggling in the grasp of the devil, writhing in the lake of fire, and so on. The exhibition of cruel passions towards him, and of maudlin flattery of the Bourbons, might be natural at the close of so long and hard a war; but it was humbling to thoughtful spectators. TREATY OF PARIS. LONDON GAIETY.

The Illustrious Strangers, as the whole group of foreigners was called, were feasted and complimented in all directions. The brave old Blücher had an Oxford degree conferred on him, at the same time with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. Banquets were given by the London Corporations: there were military reviews in the Parks, and a naval review at Portsmouth; and a procession to St. Paul's, to return thanks for the restoration of peace; and, in August, after some of the strangers were gone, a jubilee in the Parks, of three days' duration. These festivals and shows were all welcome to a people long depressed, and now in wild hope of a period of national prosperity: but the strongest interest of all, perhaps, was the re-appearance of Wellington, after his five years' absence. In his characteristic manner, he landed at Dover at the earliest possible moment, went straight to London, and walked into the House of Lords. He had left the country Sir Arthur Wellesley: he returned a Duke. As soon as the sloop of WELLINGTON'S RETURN.

1813-15. war conveying him was seen off Dover, at five in the morning of the 28th of June, the sea and shore resounded with the salutes fired from the ships and from the cliffs. Multitudes came thronging to the landing-place; and they carried the hero on their shoulders to his inn, amidst a roar of acclamation. That same evening, he was told by the Lord Chancellor, in the presence of a crowded House of Lords, that his was the only instance in the history of the British Peerage, of an individual being, at his first entrance into that House, a Baron, a Viscount, an Earl, a Marquess, and a Duke—each rank being won by distinct services to the country. Royal personages had had all the dignities heaped upon them by a single gift: but no similar instance existed of rising by patriotic service, through all the ranks, before taking a seat among the peers. Then followed city and royal banquets, given in his honour, at which the royal family were solicitous to pay their tribute of homage to one who stood high above the patronage of potentates. It was in May, while he was at Paris, that his highest title was conferred upon him: and parliament voted him half a million of money, for the purchase of an estate, and the support of his rank. An unprecedented offer of homage was made, in a Resolution that a deputation from the House of Commons should wait on him on his return, to congratulate and compliment him. Wellington, on being requested to appoint a time, begged leave rather to go himself, and pay his respects in person; and he appeared in the middle of the House, in the afternoon of the 1st of July. His address was simple and earnest; and it ended, as all his acts have ever ended, in a declaration that he was always ready for the service of his sovereign and his country. This appearance of the great soldier before a grateful parliament has always been spoken of by those who witnessed it as impressive in the highest degree.—It was not long before he began to suspect that his services might soon be required;—not against Napoleon; for there is no evidence that he anticipated what actually happened; but against Russia and Prussia, with whom we might presently have been at war, if Napoleon had remained quietly in Elba. At the end of the year, when the people and the newspapers were complaining that the peace had not answered any body's expectation; that the fabrics exhibited at the German fairs were so much more elegant than our own, that our manufactures were not likely to find a sale abroad; that shoals of English tourists were spending their cash abroad, and thus (for such was the popular apprehension) turning the balance of trade against us; and that even true-born Britons were settling abroad, for the sake of cheapness of living;—while such were the popular complaints, the representatives of England at the Congress of Vienna were of opinion that the people would soon be again in the state of war to which they had been so long accustomed.

Ann. Reg., 1814, Chron. 55.

Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 252.

Hansard, xxviii. 490.

Popular Misgivings.

While Napoleon was apparently busy in his little island, making roads, building, and tiring out three horses in succession in his morning rides, he had his eye on Europe; and doubtless knew more or less of the plotting that was going on there. In January, 1815, conspiracies were talked of every where in France; and their being talked of indicated that people were unsettled, and in expectation of change. In February, a secret treaty was made between Austria, France, and England, whereby those Powers bound themselves to bring into the field 150,000 men each, to enforce the fulfilment of the Treaty of Paris—various breaches in which were contemplated by Russia and Prussia. Wellington had been our ambassador at Paris for the last half year. In January, he went to Vienna; in February he was a party to this secret treaty; and in March, that news told in the ball room, showed him that his services would now be required against the old enemy, rather than against any of our allies.

1813-15.

DISTRUST ABROAD. 1815.

Alison's History, x. 828.

Of all the assembled personages, Alexander seems to have been most angry at Napoleon's return. Enough had been known of the exile's correspondence with the shores of Italy and France to make various members of the Congress anxious to have him removed to the Canary islands, or St. Helena, or some other safer rock in a wider sea than Elba. It appears that the Austrian Minister had even sounded some persons at Paris as to the effect which would be produced by the appearance of the child—the little King of Rome—on the frontier. But Alexander had declared steadily in favour of the exact fulfilment of the treaty of Fontainebleau, and had pleaded his personal honour as involved in leaving Napoleon unmolested. It was exasperating to the Emperor to hear that night that Napoleon had secretly left Elba; and then, in a day or two, that he had landed at Fréjus. The Austrian Minister appeared to be no less indignant in the name of his Court; for in his first proclamations Napoleon declared that he returned with the concurrence of Austria, to resume the throne for himself and his family. Metternich's immediate proposal—offered so early as the 12th of March—was that the Congress should pass a formal declaration of outlawry from the comity of nations against Napoleon. This was done, and signed by all the Powers. Napoleon was thereby pronounced a public enemy, proscribed, declared incapable of treating with any power, and destined to be crushed by the united forces which were pledged to put down all revolutionary attempts.

NAPOLEON'S RETURN.

Alison's History, x. 837.

Alison's History, x. 840.

PROSCRIPTION.

It is interesting to look over now the file of the 'Moniteur' for that month of March;—the 'Moniteur' which speaks, with an appearance of cool audacity, whatever the government of the hour has to say, let that government change as often as it may. There is a brief intimation that Napoleon had quitted Elba: then a notice that the weather was too misty for telegraphic communication: then a paragraph telling of the arrival of the adventurer at

1813-15. Lyons; but that only a few peasants took notice of his presence on the road: then, total silence for some days on this subject, while every thing else is noted and discussed as usual: then, the Court article, telling in the briefest words that the King and the princes had departed during the night, and that his Majesty, the Emperor, had arrived at his palace of the Tuileries at eight o'clock the succeeding evening.

Arrival in Paris.

There he was! and the army was at his back; and the people, if not attached to him, were abundantly disgusted with the Bourbons. There he was—in his palace of the Tuileries, as formidable as ever, to all appearance! It was bad news for London—bad news for every cottage in Great Britain. The old sickening superstitious feeling came back in all its force—that we could not get rid of this demon. We had posted him up, in transparencies at our illuminations, as haunted, and as expiating his crimes; and now, he was haunting us again. It was some comfort that Wellington wrote that it need not be for long, if we would exert ourselves. Wellington had been requested at once by the assembled Powers to draw out a plan of military operations. He did it; and advised his government to practise no false economy at this critical season; but to bring into the field every man they could raise, and to assist foreign Powers with every guinea that could be collected. The effort made under the stimulus of the passions of the time was enormous. 125,000 men were furnished without delay; and Lord Liverpool's government made an unheard-of demand for money, and obtained all they asked, without a division. Only thirty-seven members of the Commons had voted against going to war; and none voted against raising the means necessary for war. The budget of the year very nearly reached the sum of £90,000,000.

Despatches, xii. 279.

Measures taken against him.

It was on the 20th of March that Napoleon reached Paris, escorted by all the soldiers who had been sent out against him. On the 23rd, the Powers who had made the Treaty of Chaumont, a year before, confirmed its provisions, under the name of the Treaty of Vienna. Being thus bound to make war together upon Napoleon, and to make no separate peace with him, the signers went about their work. Wellington left Vienna on the 29th for Belgium, where the war was pretty sure to begin. He arrived at Brussels on the 4th of April. He knew it would be some weeks before Napoleon would take the field; but not for an hour did he linger over his preparations.—On the day of Wellington's arrival at Brussels, Napoleon despatched letters to the crowned heads of Europe, informing them of his being at home again, and of his intention to meddle with nobody. He would absolutely respect the independence of States, and, if others would be as orderly as himself, quiet would prevail, for justice should be seated on the confines of kingdoms, and should protect their frontiers. His Ministers wrote by the same couriers to the Ministers of other

Treaty of Vienna.

France and its Revolutions, p. 519.

sovereigns: but the couriers were all stopped, and the letters carried in a body to Vienna. Napoleon was outlawed; and his correspondence was not to be respected. The royal readers of his epistles must have sickened at the well-known style, by which each had been cajoled in turn. 1813-15

CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY AT PARIS.

Paris was not what it had been to Napoleon. He found himself obliged to accept, and arm, and speak fair, the true revolutionary force of the capital, though neither he nor his army liked the intrusion of a kind of mob upon the military function. He found himself obliged to establish a Constitutional Monarchy; and the Chambers spoke no longer as his creatures, but as efficient portions of the constitution. At the very moment of announcing the establishment of this mode of government, he declared, in relation to the coalition of Kings against France, that he and his army would do their duty. He did not invite the people, included under the Constitution, to share in the duty of defending their country. These declarations were uttered on the 7th of June. He had already made his choice between the two methods that offered themselves for defending the country. He might wait, on the defensive, till the Allies should come; in which case, the people might give him some help; or he might go forth and meet the enemy; in which case he and his army would be responsible for the safety of France. He determined to go forth; and into Belgium first, as Wellington had expected. His forces, which amounted by this time to 180,000 men, were marching towards the northern frontier while he was addressing the Chambers. On the 11th, he appointed a government of fourteen men to act in concert with the Chambers during his absence; then dined with his family, and set out in the evening for his last campaign. On the 13th, he was near the frontier, at Avesnes; on the 15th, he was with his army, 122,000 strong, at Charleroi. His intention was to prostrate the Prussians the next day, and "measure himself with this Wellington" on the 17th or 18th. While he advanced, thus unmolested, and even unwatched, Wellington and the Prussian Commander were waiting, with their forces scattered, for promised intelligence from Fouché of Napoleon's progress and plans. They were two more added to the long list of Fouché's dupes. Fouché sent what he had promised; but contrived such obstacles in the way of the bearer—a lady—that she could not arrive till after Napoleon had chosen his ground. It was on the evening of the 15th that Wellington received the news at Brussels of the whereabout of the French. He instantly perceived that the object was to separate his force from the Prussians. He sent off orders to his troops in every direction to march upon Quatre-Bras. This done, he dressed and went to a ball, where no one would have discovered from his manner that he had heard any remarkable news. It was whispered about the rooms, however, that the French were not far off; and some officers dropped off in

NAPOLEON PROCEEDS TO BELGIUM.

Fouché's Mem. ii. 340, 342.

Despatches, x. 478.

THE BRITISH AT BRUSSELS.

1813-15. the course of the evening—called by their duty, and leaving heavy hearts behind them. Many parted so who never met again. It was about midnight when the general officers were summoned. Somewhat later, the younger officers were very quietly called away from their partners: and by sun-rise of the summer morning of the 16th, all were on their march.

Quatre Bras and Ligny. *June 16th.*

The first news that reached Paris was of victory. Blücher and his Prussians were at Ligny, with the exception of the 4th corps, under Bülow, which had not come up. Napoleon sent Ney round, early in the morning of the 16th, to attack Blücher in the rear, while he attacked him in front: and in extreme impatience, Napoleon waited till four in the afternoon for the sound of Ney's guns in the rear of the Prussians. But Ney was otherwise occupied. He had encountered the allied force, which held the position of Quatre Bras: and he could not dislodge them. Blücher all the while was anxiously awaiting the arrival of Bülow's Prussian corps and of the Allied force; but neither of them appeared. At four o'clock, Napoleon attacked him. For three hours, the desperate fight appeared to give no advantage on either side. Then some French reinforcements began to come up, and Napoleon brought forward all his reserves, while no aid appeared to the Prussians. They fell back; and their retreat presently became somewhat disorderly. The French captured twenty-one pieces of cannon, which had been left entangled in the narrow lanes behind the village of Ligny; but there was no pursuit during the night. This was the victory of the 16th of June, which was announced in Paris. At Quatre Bras, the British and their Allies had held their ground, with considerable loss;—the Duke of Brunswick being killed, among many others. Their cavalry had not come up; and in both fields, the French force far exceeded that of their opponents. The next morning, Wellington sent a patrole to Blücher, when it was found that the French had not only abstained from pursuit, but that their scouts fell back as the patrole advanced. Blücher's retreat compelled Wellington to retire from Quatre Bras: and by the afternoon of the 17th, he and his army had fallen back to Waterloo. There the great Captain drew out his forces, across two high roads, with a ravine at his right extremity, and a height above a hamlet as his extreme post on the left, whence he could communicate with Blücher, who had promised to come to his aid, if he should be attacked. In front of the right-centre was a farm-house; in front of the left-centre was another. All the night of the 17th, the French were taking up their position on a range of heights in front.

Alison's History, x. 925.

Despatches, xii. 480.

Ib., xii. 481.

Waterloo, *June 18th.*

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 18th, the French made the attack. All day, they strove for the farm-house in front of the British right-centre; and all day it was held against them. They won the other farm-house—the German legion within it having

expended their ammunition; and being, at the moment, cut off from supply. A heavy cannonading along the whole line accompanied and sustained these assaults; and during the whole day, the British in their lines sustained the fierce charges, in constant succession, now of cavalry, now of infantry, now of cavalry and infantry together. There is nothing in the history of battles more sublime than the generalship which could order, and the patient valour that could sustain, such a method of fighting as this. It foiled Napoleon in his strongest point. He had always hitherto broken through the enemy's line, by bringing his force to bear upon one part (a weak one, if he could find it); but here he tried after it for the whole day without succeeding. He had now "to measure himself with this Wellington;" and he had met his match. He gathered his artillery *en masse*, and made dreadful havock on certain points:—the vacant space was instantly filled up again. He arranged his bodies of cavalry so as to support each other, and sent them to make desperate efforts to pierce the British line of infantry. In a moment, the line became squares, and the ground was maintained. At six in the evening, not a point was gained by the French. Any advantage which had been yielded in the shock of a moment, had been immediately resumed. In the quiet words of Wellington, "these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful." It was impossible, after these eight hours of slaughter, to say where the victory would rest. The most doubtful moment for the Allies was soon after this—about seven o'clock. By this time Bülow's corps had come up; and Blücher himself was on the heights on the British left—ready to take charge of the French right. Napoleon was now about to make a final desperate effort to rout the Allies, by an attack of a vast force upon the British left-centre. Wellington saw it; and ordered every disposable man to the spot. Presently, the continued roar of cannon and musketry was "the most dinning" ever heard by those on the field. Presently again, there was a sudden, complete, brief pause; and then again, a tremendous outburst of mingled sounds. The French had been checked, cast in heaps of dead and wounded; the remainder turned, fled, and were in an instant pursued by the whole British line. When Napoleon saw that the British had broken in upon his Old Guard, he turned pale as death, and said, in a tone of dismay, "They are all mixed!" Wellington's word to his Guards in a ditch—"Up, Guards, and at them!" had been potent. They *were* all mixed, as the British bore down the best reserve and last hope of Napoleon.

1813-15.

Letter of Gardiner. Ward's Memoirs, i. 493.

The success of the battle was, however, mainly secured by the arrival of the Prussians. Napoleon had foreseen that the Germans would advance upon his right flank when he made his grand attack; and the heads of his reserve columns appeared, one behind another, with their supports of artillery—an army in themselves, to oppose the Prussians. The Prussians out-flanked them, however,

Despatches, xii. 484.

1813-15. penetrated their force on that side, and pressed in upon the main body so severely, while the British were bearing them along in front, that the crush was complete. The French army was annihilated. From an army it became a mass of panic-stricken fugitives—and over they went—over the heights which they had so splendidly descended in the morning, pursued by the victors till eleven o'clock, when the British, worn out at the end of thirteen hours from the first attack, left it to the fresher Prussians to continue the pursuit through the night. During the night, Blücher and his Prussians took sixty more pieces of cannon—the cannon of the Imperial Guard; and much baggage and several carriages belonging to Napoleon. One hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, had been taken on the field.

Despatches, x. 482.

Napoleon's return to Paris.

For the third time Napoleon returned to Paris without an army. After Moscow, after Leipsic, he had rallied his forces, and gone forth again. All was over now; and he never went forth again, but to the captivity in which he ended his days. It was four o'clock in the morning of the 21st that he reached Paris. When the Prussians, who had followed him, broke into the palace at Malmaison in the evening of the 29th, he had just driven away, after taking leave for ever of the few faithful friends who had remained with him. From the 3rd to the 14th of July he lingered at Rochefort, hoping against hope for some chance of restoration. He thence wrote a letter to the Prince Regent, as "the most generous" of his enemies, craving leave to live in England, as a private individual. Early in the morning of the 15th, he went on board the Bellerophon, which immediately conveyed him to England. For some days, Torbay was crowded with boats, from which he was seen on the deck of the vessel by multitudes to whom he had been a prominent object of thought since the opening of the century. On the 30th, he was officially informed that he was to be conveyed to St. Helena, to spend the rest of his days on a rock in the midst of the Atlantic. His wrath was great, as might have been expected. He protested that he was not a prisoner. It was true that he had gone on board the Bellerophon uninvited: but it was also true that he had gone untempted, and under the warning that the commander, Captain Maitland, could make no promises. His long course of perfidy had deprived him of all right to claim trust: and his unscrupulous ambition made him too dangerous to be left at large. For the security of the human race, he must be outlawed; and he had outlawed himself by proving that no engagements and no principles could bind him. He was carried to St. Helena, by the agreement of the sovereigns of Europe, who committed the charge of him to that nation which he had most constantly and most bitterly hated.

Is carried to St. Helena.

The French force on the field of Waterloo was about 72,000 men; the army under Wellington 68,000; the Prussians bringing

36,000 more in the evening. Napoleon had 240 pieces of cannon: Wellington 180. The loss, in killed and wounded, of the Allies was nearly 11,000, besides 6,000 Prussians. That of the French was 40,000. But their force was besides wholly broken and dispersed; and it never rallied. After passing their own frontier, the infantry melted away among the villages of France; and the artillery sold their horses, and returned to their homes. An attempt was made to defend Paris, under the dread of the return of the Bourbons; and on the third of July the capitulation of Paris was signed. The soldiery marched out, with their arms and equipments, and proceeded to the Loire, beyond which they were to transport themselves. On the 7th, Wellington led the army of the Allies into Paris. The Bourbons were close behind; and Louis XVIII. made his entry the next day. All was silen and forlorn. The streets were almost deserted; and the clang of the horses' feet echoed from the lofty houses. The Prussians were with difficulty prevented from hauling down the public monuments of Napoleon's victories, and blowing up bridges; and in the environs, their troops were pillaging without mercy. The works of Art which Napoleon had gathered together from the conquered cities of Europe were sent back to their places: and the inhabitants of Paris felt, for the first time, what subjugation was.

1813-15.

Alison's History, x. 959.

CAPITULATION OF PARIS.

Alison's History, x. 976.

England, meantime, was almost mad with joy. The previous suspense had been terrible; and in London, people could hardly sleep for the expectation of news from Belgium. At last, the Park and Tower guns told that the news was good. The Gazette was read to crowds in the streets. Every house was lighted up. A day of Thanksgiving was appointed; and the collection in the churches and chapels of the kingdom, on behalf of those widowed, orphaned, and maimed, by the battle of Waterloo amounted to 500,000*l.* Both Houses of Parliament voted thanks to Wellington and his army; and the Waterloo medal was struck—to be worn by every man engaged on that memorable 18th of June.

THE NEWS IN ENGLAND.

It was not till November that the Second Treaty of Paris was signed: and during the whole interval 800,000 foreign troops were quartered on the inhabitants of France. It was on the 20th of Nov. that the treaty was signed and ratified. On the 30th, Wellington issued his last General Order, on breaking up his army. After commending the good conduct of his troops, in their camps and cantonments, not less than in the field, he took his leave of them in these words: "Whatever may be the future destination of those brave troops, of which the Field Marshal now takes his leave, he trusts that every individual will believe that he will ever feel the deepest interest in their honour and welfare, and will always be happy to promote either." Their destination was never more to be the battle-field in Europe. That General Order was issued thirty-five years ago; and England is still at Peace.

SECOND TREATY OF PARIS.

WELLINGTON'S FAREWELL. Despatches, x. 716.

CHAPTER X.

1801-15. THE history of a people during a time of war is nearly the same with the history of the war and its effects. There is little left to be told of the condition of the English people between 1800 and 1815.

Steam Navigation. At the opening of the century, Messrs. Boulton and Watt's steam engine was at work at the Mint, and found capable of new applications, from year to year. The Americans discovered one application which has proved of some importance since, and which will mark our century in the history of the arts for ever. Just before the opening of the century, a great man in New York, Chancellor Livingstone, obtained from the State Legislature an exclusive privilege for the navigating of boats by means of a steam engine on board. He forfeited his privilege by being unable, within the assigned time, to impel a boat at the rate of four miles an hour. At Paris, however, in 1803, the thing was accomplished—Mr. Livingstone having there met his countryman, Fulton, who was ready enough to try the necessary series of experiments. Meantime, Lord Dundas had been encouraging the experiments of Symington in Scotland; and in 1802, a steam tug, with Lord Dundas on board, towed two loaded vessels, against a strong head wind, nineteen miles on the Forth and Clyde canal, in six hours. The thing was certainly done before Fulton succeeded in his Seine voyage in 1803. But the canal proprietors in Scotland feared injury to the canal banks; and Symington's boat lay idle in a creek, while Fulton obtained engines from Boulton and Watt, learned every thing about the Scotch experiment, and carried over Birmingham workmen to fit their engine to his boat on the Hudson. In 1807, the success was complete. In America, the fuel used was a blazing and sparkling pine wood; and for a long while, the self-moving vessel was an object of horror (by night especially) to the dwellers on the interior rivers, and to the pirates who hovered about the coast in war time. They believed that the monster, braving wind and tide, and spitting fire, was sent after them, and had demons for her crew. In our country, the innovation was a more quiet affair.—Mr. Henry Bell, an innkeeper on the Clyde, built a steam-passage-boat in 1811, marking its date by calling it the Comet, after the great comet of that

year: and to him belongs the credit of having first made steam navigation practically useful in our island. In 1816, five steam-boats were plying on the Thames, and some persons had adventurously gone to Margate in one. Henry Bell died in indigence, after the success of his great experiment, of which he incurred all the loss, while the world has ever since enjoyed the gain. Fulton died in 1815, mainly from anxiety of mind, from disputes having arisen about his patents. Boulton died in a serene old age, in August 1809. He had spent 47,000*l.* on his steam engine before Watt enabled him to surmount the difficulties of construction which intercepted his profits. He was an inestimable public benefactor—promoting among us the arts of peace in a dreary season of war: and there was every thing in his private character that could deepen admiration into respect and affection. 1801-15. DEATH OF BOULTON.

The production and manufacture of iron improved much in our country during the early years of the century; and we observe the introduction of chain cables among the new inventions of the time. Architects were beginning to think about Suspension Bridges; and iron chains were much under notice. A naval commander had suggested, so long ago as 1771, that if he had had iron cables instead of hempen, he should not have lost six anchors in nine days —such misfortune having befallen him. Chain cables were never fairly brought into use till after 1808. From that time to 1814, the difficulty of obtaining hemp from abroad settled the matter. Chains were soon used, not only for cables, but for various parts of the rigging of ships. CHAIN CABLES.

We see, in 1802, an experiment tried, in London and elsewhere, of fitting a little steam-engine to a carriage; the trial failing from the badness of the roads. Soon after, we find a gentleman winning wagers as to the amount of weight that a horse can draw, on an iron tramway. And next, we see that it had entered some heads to put the two things together — the steam-carriage and the iron way: and the projectors, Messrs. Trevithick and Vivian, had the satisfaction of obtaining complete success. Society acted as usual, however. We remember the sage look with which an old man shook his head over an explosion, in the first days of steam navigation on rivers, saying it was no use telling him that steam did all that: and now, those who saw these steam-carriages draw a vast weight, along the iron rails at Merthyr Tydvil, were confident that the speed was all owing to the smoothness, and that steam had nothing to do with it. They cried for cumbersome additions of racks and cog-wheels, chains, mechanical legs, &c. But the steam had fairly begun to rise; and it has gone on expanding to this day. STEAM CARRIAGES.

When the century opened, the arts and conveniences of household life were improving remarkably, under the instructions of an COUNT RUMFORD.

1801-15. ingenious and benevolent man, to whom, as it happened, four nations were under obligations. Count Rumford was born in America, and was an active citizen till after the War of Independence. He accomplished a magnificent task in Bavaria, in abolishing mendicity, while the state was fast going to ruin from its beggars. He came to England, and let the people have the benefit of his discoveries in regard to nutrition in diet and economy of fuel. He went to France in 1802, and married the widow of Lavoisier, the great chemist; and in France he died, in 1814. While he was among us, the English were isolated in other respects than their territory. They were cut off by war from intercourse with continental nations, and from observation of their arts of life. There can be no question of the improvement of society in economy and comfort, after the lessons of Count Rumford had been spread over the land, and his devices had become a fashion among those classes which set an example to the rest.

Plymouth Breakwater

The first stone of the great Breakwater, at Plymouth, was lowered on the Regent's birthday (12th of August) 1812. This vast work, which has proved an effectual protection to the harbour of Plymouth, is a heap of loose stones, nearly a mile in length, 42 feet in average height, and of a breadth at the base variously reported from 210 to 360 feet. It was one of the greatest works undertaken during the war.—An institution, which owed its origin directly to the war, was founded during this period. In 1801, the first stone of the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea was laid, in the presence of the Duke of York and some of the Ministers; and coins and medals, commemorative of our victories, were buried under the stone.—In 1806, the India Directors received their College Committee at the India House, and all proceeded to Haileybury, near Hertford, where the first stone was laid of the new College, whence so many of the provincial rulers and civil servants of our great oriental empire have since gone forth, to promote or injure the welfare of a hundred millions of men.

Chelsea Hospital.

Haileybury College.

Tea.

One of the controversies of the period was about the use of tea: and many vehement controversies have been about a smaller matter. The time had been, in the preceding century, when the duty on tea had been reduced; and the consequence was, the doubling of the consumption in the first year, and its being quadrupled in the third year. Twenty years after that date (1787) the consumption of tea had increased very little. It was then only about one pound a head of the population, per year. Yet the 'Annual Register' speaks in prodigious delight of "the amazing extent" to which the consumption of tea now reached. The common sorts of tea were, in those days of excessive taxation, charged with an excise duty of 90 per cent.: yet the people chose

Porter's Progress, sec. v., chap. 4.

to have tea; or so many of them, that Cobbett thundered forth denunciations against the drink as unreasonable, and almost as violent, as any Puritan divine ever uttered against love-locks or top-knots. He assured his readers that tea-drinking cost a cottager's family above 11*l.* a year; while, on the other hand, he would fain have made out that beer cost next to nothing. In noticing a subsequent outbreak of Cobbett's against tea, an Edinburgh reviewer agreed with him to an extent that is hardly credible now. He disbelieved in any virtue in the tea itself, and concluded the labourer, at his morning and evening meal, to be solaced with the warmth of the water, and the sweetness of the sugar. If it had been so, we should have ceased to hear of tea among the working classes by this time: whereas there is no longer any question about its beneficial effects on the health of persons engaged in sedentary occupations, and in superseding the use of strong drinks. At the opening of the century, intemperance in drink was very prevalent among the higher classes; and it had to descend through the whole gradation before it could go out at the lower: but the rapidity of the amendment, on the whole, is very remarkable; and there can be no question that much of it is owing to the increased use of tea and coffee. The tea duties are still sadly too high; but, great as has been the increase of the population, the consumption appears now to have reached an annual average of 1½ lb. a head. 1801-15. Edinburgh Review, xxxviii. p. 111.

A remarkable trial catches the eye in the records of 1809. In the name of the King, a prosecution was carried on against some persons who had formed themselves into a Company, for the purpose of relieving the town of Birmingham from the evils of a scanty supply of flour and bread, and of a gross adulteration of both. The millers and bakers promoted the prosecution, complaining of the Association as being injurious to their interests, and therefore illegal. The jury were required by the judge to pronounce on certain points, which were then to be submitted to the Court of King's Bench for an opinion; and the jury found that the object of the Company was laudable: that the town had been much benefited by the abundant supply of good flour and bread afforded, in the way of trade, by the Company: and that the private interests of the millers and bakers had suffered under the improvement. A good deal of speculation and argument seems to have been excited, at the time, by the contest between the associated and the isolated capitalists. Ann. Reg., 1809. Chron. 375. JOINT STOCK BREAD COMPANY.

We find bear-baiting familiarly mentioned among the sports of the times. Much that has been already told proves that there was a savagery about the temper of the people, which showed itself in an extraordinary ferocity of crime. The popular amusements had something of the same character in them. But it was not to be for long. Peace was coming; and with it, opportunities for NATIONAL ISOLATION.

1801-15. learning much of the minds of foreign nations. It will be our business hereafter to show how the pleasures of art and the intellect have become open to the great body of the people, and how humanizing has been the influence of the change. Here we have only to note that we are taking leave of the long period of national isolation, under which strong passions, and stiff prejudices, and coarse manners and amusements, were fostered, and men suffered more than by any palpable hardships occasioned by the war.

Foreign Literature. In our state of prejudice, during these years, nothing French found any favour with us. A barbarous jargon, called the French language, was taught in schools—taught by emigrants who might be able to speak very well, but who had never qualified themselves for the art of teaching. If a sound knowledge of the language was rare, much more so was an acquaintance with French literature. We do not, even now, understand the French, nor truly relish their literature. But the German was entering and spreading, and finding great acceptance among us; and the character of our literature of this century may be said to be transmuted by it. It was the spirit of German literature that determined the forms in which Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, and many others, thought and uttered themselves. All these three had published, and become known, at the end of the last century; and they went on, rising in reputation, during the war period. It was in 1814 that 'Waverley' was published.—The Literary Fund Society, not yet incorporated, having been founded only in 1797, was munificently patronized by the Prince of Wales. Its object was then, as now, to extend assistance to suffering authors and men of letters. In 1805, we find the Prince acting as President, recommending the purchase of a good house for the transaction of business, and subscribing 200*l.* a year for the purpose. He was, at that time, associating much with literary men; as his father was with musicians.

The Literary Fund.

Music. The King attended the Concerts of Ancient Music as long as he could appear at all in public: and those were the days when Catalani turned the heads of London, and of all England where she appeared.—The Philharmonic Society was a little too late for the poor King. It was in 1813 that it was founded; and, by that time, all the music he heard must be within the walls of Windsor Castle. The Regent did not patronize music as his father had done. He went as little as possible where he was likely to meet his family, and he disliked appearing in public at all. Such countenance as he gave to the intellectual improvement of his time was in the direction of patronage of men of letters. The great contribution of that period to literature was, however, one with which the patronage of the great had nothing to do.

"To appreciate the value of the 'Edinburgh Review,'" says he

who suggested it, "the state of England, at the period when that Journal began, should be had in remembrance. The Catholics were not emancipated — the Corporation and Test Acts were not repealed—the Game Laws were horribly oppressive — Steel Traps and Spring Guns were set all over the country—prisoners tried for their lives could have no counsel—Lord Eldon and the Court of Chancery pressed heavily upon mankind—Libel was punished by the most cruel and vindictive imprisonments—the principles of Political Economy were little understood—the laws of Debt and of Conspiracy were on the worst possible footing — the enormous wickedness of the Slave Trade was tolerated—a thousand evils were in existence, which the talents of good and able men have since lessened or removed; and these effects have been not a little assisted by the honest boldness of the 'Edinburgh Review.'..... From the beginning of the century to the death of Lord Liverpool, was an awful period for those who had the misfortune to entertain liberal opinions..... It is always considered as a piece of impertinence, in England, if a man of less than two or three thousand a year has any opinions at all upon important subjects; and in addition, he was sure at that time to be assailed with all the Billingsgate of the French Revolution—Jacobin, Leveller, Atheist, Deist, Socinian, Incendiary, Regicide, were the gentlest appellations used; and the man who breathed a syllable against the senseless bigotry of the Georges, or hinted at the abominable tyranny and persecution exercised upon Catholic Ireland, was shunned as unfit for the relations of social life." In such times, and at the risk of every kind of political and social failure, a set of young Whigs—Sydney Smith, Jeffrey, Brougham, Murray, Horner, and a few others—set on foot the 'Edinburgh Review,' in 1802. Its success was great and immediate. Neither its authors nor the public then perceived how false and dangerous is the very principle of such a work — of a small established corps of men undertaking to pronounce on works in regard to each one of which the reviewer is, probably, less competent than the author, who is most likely to know more of his subject than those who have studied it less. The failure to perceive this, and the virulence of tone natural to young men who felt themselves under a political and social ban, made the great Review a receptacle of unjust judgments and indefensible tempers. "I remember," Sydney Smith used to say, in speaking of a work of that day, "how Brougham and I sat one evening over our review of that book, looking whether there was a chink or a crevice through which we could drop one more drop of verjuice." This was, no doubt, a playful exaggeration; but it described too well the spirit of the work in its first days. Reviews were more regarded by the public, and more felt by authors, then than now, when their real authority is better understood; and it is to be feared that much tyranny was inflicted by these young ad-

1801-15.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW. Sydney Smith's Works. Preface.

1801-15. vocates of freedom of opinion, and much needless pain inflicted by these denouncers of oppression: but substantial service was rendered to many a good public cause, and a new department of literature may be said to have been opened in Great Britain.—In 1809, the 'Quarterly Review' was set up, as the organ of the Tory party. Its political virulence was extreme; and it has continued so to this day; but it deserves immortalizing for the beauty of its literary articles. Both had, at one time, a vast circulation; and if they did mischief in enslaving opinion on literary matters, and in saving the reading public the salutary trouble of thought, they did great service in encouraging literary pursuit, and in opening large resources of intellectual profit and pleasure to the reading public. Their eminent success showed that they met an existing want.

The Quarterly Review.

Bentham. During this period, Bentham was propounding his benevolent plans for the reformation of prisoners, his rational projects for Law-reform, and his finely-felt, but shallow and narrow system of Mental and Social Philosophy. His proposed Law reforms won for him the veneration of foreign nations; a veneration which we still feel to be due, though a very little experience of life and affairs is enough to show that Codification is impracticable; and above all for peoples of old standing, whose past circumstances make their present condition. We now know that Constitutions must grow up, and cannot be successfully imposed. In his paper Constitutions, the benevolent recluse failed; but no man was more acute in exposing legislative faults, and proposing the true principles on which remedy should proceed; and to him we owe, primarily, a large proportion of the legislative and social reforms of the half-century. His Utilitarian Philosophy will not stand by itself, though it has been a valuable check on the selfishness of power, and an inestimable assertion of the rights of the depressed. The philosopher may truly object "you can never make a hero of a man by showing him that it is either useful or agreeable:" but while we smile at Bentham as a Mental Philosopher, we are all living and acting under the influence of his aspiration for "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." During this period, he was hard at work for that "greatest happiness," without any personal aims, in a life of the simplest habits, and in the peace of an unruffled benignity.

Science. Herschel was, at the same time, revealing many new wonders of the heavens; and Davy enlarging the bounds of science; and Dalton announcing the Atomic Theory; and Wollaston aiding him to develop and establish it; and Leslie letting the world into the secret of the nature and properties of Heat. At this time, too,

Cavendish. Cavendish died.—Davy said at the time that this was the greatest loss the scientific world had sustained since the death of Newton. Others have pointed out that before him were alchemists and after

him speculative inquirers; while he laid down a mathematical basis for chemical inquiry, and proceeded upon it. His habit of thought was formed on the study of the Newtonian philosophy; and nothing that he did was left doubtful or imperfect: a wonderful fact, considering the empirical character of chemical pursuit when he began to publish, in 1766. Cavendish was the first discoverer of the gases as such: he first analyzed water. He instituted the beautiful experiment by which the density of the earth is believed to have been accurately determined. On this work, he and Maskelyne (an admirable observer) were in communication; and the astronomer put Cavendish's results to the test. Cavendish was as much of an astronomer as a chemist, and wrote on the division of astronomical instruments, and on the civil year of the Hindoos. He was in truth a mathematician, carrying his science forward in one department to which it was native, and in another where it was almost a stranger, and very much wanted. He was of high birth, and died prodigiously rich. He lived the life of a student, unmarried and secluded. His writings are to be found in the Philosophical Transactions between 1766 and 1809. They are few, but were of inestimable value in their day. He was 79 when he died, in February, 1810.—Maskelyne died at the same age, a year later—in February 1811. He had been Astronomer Royal for forty-six years. He was a clergyman, but devoted his days to science. Except to test Cavendish's ascertainment of the density of the earth by experiments on a Scotch mountain, he scarcely left home from the time he became Astronomer Royal. A voyage in earlier days showed him the wants of nautical astronomy; and out of this observation grew the 'Nautical Almanac,' which he superintended as long as he lived. He was the first who gave the world a standard catalogue of stars; and he did this in 1790. His scientific reputation abroad was very high; and it was well sustained by the virtues of his character. 1801-15. MASKELYNE.

The great Duke of Bridgewater belonged in age to the last century: but his grand achievement extends through our own. He was the "Father of British Inland Navigation," and by that title he will ever be known. He wanted to bring coal from his Worsley estate to Manchester. He devised a canal for the purpose; and he met with an admirable coadjutor in Brindley, the engineer. They supported each other, and wrought well together; and by their harmonious action they exhibited to the wondering people of England a navigable aqueduct, crossing the Irwell at a height of thirty-nine feet from the river. An engineer who was invited to give his opinion on the scheme, said that he had often heard of castles in the air, but had never before seen their proposed site. He saw this river in the air, however, with coal-barges upon it. The mere employment of labour and creation of wealth DUKE OF BRIDGEWATER.

1801-15. by the Duke of Bridgewater were enormous. His return to the income tax was 110,000*l.* a year; and a wide region was filled by him with busy industry: but a yet higher service was the impulse given to practical science, and the example of noble scientific enterprise. The Duke died in March, 1803, when his canal had been in use somewhat more than forty years.—Among the coins buried in the foundation stone of Blackfriars Bridge, is a silver medal, the most cherished possession of him who here bestowed it. It was the medal given by the Academy at Rome to the young architect, Mylne, who was to build the bridge. He was impeded at the outset of his great work by Dr. Johnson's obstinate convictions that Mylne's arches could not stand. There was a grand controversy at the time; but it was decided in favour of the young man against the great doctor; and Johnson and Mylne became at length intimate friends. The bridge is not all we owe to Mylne. It was he who suggested the noblest epitaph that ever stirred the hearts of succeeding generations. He it was who proposed, when Surveyor of St. Paul's in the place once held by Wren, the inscription in honour of his predecessor, "Si monumentum requiris, circumspice." He was buried near Wren, in May, 1811.

Mylne.

Artists. The artists and authors who died within this period were those of the last century:—Boydell, himself a poor engraver, but the grand promoter of the art of engraving in England:—Morland, the great painter of domestic animals:—Barry, the protégé of Burke, and painter of the six pictures in the great room of the Society of Arts in the Adelphi, one of which Canova said he would have come to England to see, if there had been nothing else to look at:—Opie, the Cornish boy, who painted portraits in a style of his own which had enough of genius to make him an eminent artist in spite of deficiencies of education:—Hoppner, who might have approached nearer to Reynolds in fame, if he had worshipped and imitated him less:—and De Loutherbourg, a native of Strasburg, but a Royal Academician, who produced good pictures in various styles, raised the art of scene-painting by what he did at the Opera House, and was the inventor of that kind of pictorial exhibition which now goes by the name of the Diorama:—these artists of the earlier part of the reign of George III. all died between the years 1804 and 1812.

Authors. The authors had, also, for the most part done their work when the century began. There was Brand, the author of 'Popular Antiquities;'—and the aged Home, author of the tragedy of 'Douglas.' The tragedy was at first refused by Garrick; and then, when it succeeded in Edinburgh, it brought such a storm of persecution upon its author, from the scandal of a clergyman writing a play, that Mr. Home dropped his clerical character, and was regarded as a layman for the rest of his long life. Then there

was Richard Cumberland, author of 'The West Indian:'—and Bishop Percy, who collected the 'The Reliques of Ancient English Poetry:'—and Grahame, author of the once popular poem of 'The Sabbath:'—and Pye, the Laureate, whose poetry died before him:—and Dibdin, the song-writer:—and Dr. Burney, the historian of Music, but much better known as the father of the charming Fanny Burney, whose honours belong to the last century:—these died—most of them above the age of eighty, between the years 1806 and 1814. De Lolme was a Swiss by birth; but his great work on the English Constitution entitles us to reckon him among our losses. He died, at the age of sixty-two, in 1807. Porson, the great Grecian, died, untimely, in 1808. He was Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, and was considered the first critic and Greek scholar of his time. He is best known now by his traditional reputation, by his admitted invalidation of the text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, in answer to Archdeacon Travis, and by his editions of some of the Greek poets. 1801-15.

HORSLEY. The clergy of the last century were not merely clergymen. Not only were they scholars; but some were men of science, and many were politicians. Horsley, who died Bishop of St. Asaph, in October, 1806, was a man of science, but is better known as a fierce polemic and a high Tory alarmist. His hatred of dissenters and his horror of Roman Catholics led him into intemperance of speech in parliament and through the press; but those of his friends who regretted that he should go quite so far, still considered him a strong pillar of the Church and State; and he may be regarded as a fair specimen of the political and polemical bishop of the last century.—HURD. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, was a philologist; and his days were passed chiefly in literary pursuits. He was tutor, however, to the Prince of Wales and Duke of York; and he pleased the King so well that he might have become Primate on the death of Archbishop Cornwallis; but he preferred a post of more leisure for literary pursuits. Bishop Hurd died in May, 1808.—JOHN HORNE TOOKE. John Horne Tooke was a clergyman, given much to philology and to politics. His clerical character (which he thought he had laid down with his living in 1773) is so completely merged in other aspects of the man, that it would not be remembered but for the incident which connects him with our century. In the last century, he was imprisoned and fined for libel; and he was then in a manner driven into political life by the refusal of the Benchers to admit him to the bar, on the ground of his being a clergyman. He was tried for High Treason, in 1794, chiefly on account of his connexion with the Constitutional Society. After a trial of six days he was acquitted. With the beginning of the new century he entered parliament: but it seemed as if he was never to hear the last of his having taken orders in his early days. An Act of

1801-15. Parliament was passed during the few months that he was in the House, enacting that no one in priests' orders could become a member of the House of Commons. This is a remarkable change from the times when the priests were the makers and administrators of such laws as existed. Next to his political acts and sufferings, Mr. Tooke is best known by his entertaining philological work, 'The Diversions of Purley.' He died in March 1812, in the 77th year of his age.

Political Dictionary, i. 520.

Paley. One of the Cambridge men who opposed Horne Tooke's having his degree in 1771 was Paley, then a tutor in the University. Paley died first, in 1805, having distinguished himself in a very different line. He was too clear and strong an advocate of the principles of liberty and the rights of conscience to have any chance, in those days, of high preferment; and he rose no higher in the church than the sub-deanery of Lincoln. He was a clear-headed man, who could say at will exactly what he thought: and that talent, at a time when the solemn pomposity of Johnson's imitators began to be wearisome, obtained for Paley a reputation as a thinker, which the lapse of half a century has shown to be very far beyond his deserts. He was clear, but not deep: strong, but not comprehensive; orderly, but not elevated. The subjects he attempted—as in his Moral and Political Philosophy, his Evidences of Christianity, and his Natural Theology—were too deep and too high for his order of intellect; and, though the charms of his manner and the clearness of his method secured a long term of popularity for these works, the higher and larger thought of men since born has made us wonder at the acceptance so long given to Paley's inadequate definitions, loose reasonings, and low moral propositions. Utility and expediency are his universal solvent: and the method of their application in the philosophy and practice of Morals, Politics, Society, and Ecclesiastic matters, seems as uncertain as the principle is loose and questionable. They accord but too well with his own celebrated saying, in regard to profession of religious belief—that he "could not afford to keep a conscience." Dr. Paley died, as has been said, very early in the century; but his works exercised till lately so strong an influence over the minds of statesmen, divines, and educators, that he may be considered as belonging to our own time, as well as to the preceding half-century.

Granville Sharp. An actual loss to the existing generation was when Granville Sharp died—old as he was. He was in his 79th year at his death in July, 1813. It was he who brought to trial the question whether slavery could exist in Great Britain: and it was he who instituted the Society for the abolition of the Slave trade. In all the questions of his time which largely involved the principle of humanity, he was before all others in activity. He was a fine scholar, and a man of innocent life and benevolent manners. Even the

Clarksons and Wilberforces could hardly go beyond the general sorrow at his death. 1801-15.

Lord Macartney died in 1806, after having filled various public offices, the chief of which was that of British Ambassador to China. Our first diplomatic relations with the Court of Pekin were attempted by him. Little was done, in the way of political business, beyond ascertaining that nothing could then be done. But some notices of China were opened to us by Lord Macartney and his friend Sir G. Staunton, who published an account of the embassy and its adventures.—A far deeper interest was felt in a traveller who disclosed to us something more, about a country of yet deeper mystery. The self-will and antique customs (become a second nature) of the Chinese have fenced in their country from our observation: but it was a set of impediments beyond the power of man to set up or pull down that had concealed from us the interior of Africa. Mungo Park, a young Scotch surgeon, was unwilling to acquiesce in the prohibition given by nature herself. He had tasted the pleasures of travel in a professional voyage to the eastern seas; and when he returned, in 1794, Major Rennell had enabled the African Association to publish such information as existed about the interior of Africa. There was much desire for more knowledge about the course of the Niger. Major Houghton had gone to seek it, and had perished. Park would go—aware as he was of the hardships and dangers to be encountered. He set off in May, 1795. To the surprise of every one, and after he had been given over for lost, he returned; and in 1799, he published those travels which have since been familiar to all readers of each generation. When, in 1803, he was invited by government to go again—this time in command of an expedition—he eagerly accepted the appointment. He sailed in January, 1805, and did not live to see another year. His comrades perished by disease in the rainy season, so that only three of the whole party of forty-four were living when the rains ceased.—It was many years before any knowledge of the fate of Park was obtained; and even now, when we know the time and place of his destruction, there is still some doubt about the mode. He perished on the Niger near Boussa, where there are rocks and eddies in the river; there was a fight, and it was near the close of 1805. The remaining doubt is, whether the natives awaited the white men, to cut them off at a narrow part of the river; or whether, as some of the natives have recently said, the blacks on the shore, gesticulating with a friendly meaning to give warning of the whirlpool, were taken for enemies, and fired upon. Either way, while the white men were skirmishing with the blacks, the boat was swept into the eddy and sunk. Some of the clothes, arms, and papers, of the traveller have been seen by succeeding discoverers, whose adventures we shall have to track hereafter. Park was the first of the devoted band who

LORD MACARTNEY.

MUNGO PARK.

1801-15. returned to tell what he had seen; and his narrative was received with extreme eagerness. To this day, though many have gone, and some have returned, like him, to give us knowledge, and then gone back to perish, Park's name is the most tenderly spoken, and every fragment of his experience, and of information about him, is still caught up with a stronger interest than any of his successors have ever commanded. He was only thirty-four when he died.

END OF THE INTRODUCTION.

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